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Pact Political Consultative Committee Session

Ceausescu Arrives

LD1407183588 Warsaw PAP in English
1710 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Foreign delegations are arriving for the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania headed by General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party CC, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu was greeted in Warsaw today.

The guests were greeted by PUWP CC first secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Honecker Arrives

LD1407175788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (ADN)—The GDR delegation led by Erich Honecker to the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which is to meet 15-16 July, arrived in the Polish capital this evening. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council and the members of the GDR delegation were given fraternal greetings at the Warsaw-Okecie Airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, and other members of the host country's party and state leadership.

Jakes Arrives

LD1407205688 Warsaw PAP in English
1806 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Headed by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes, a delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic arrived here today for a session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw-Treaty member-states.

The Czechoslovak delegation was welcomed by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Gromyko, Ryzhkov Arrive

LD1407191688 Warsaw PAP in English
1809 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Members of the Soviet delegation to a session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw-Treaty states: CPSU Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko, and CPSU CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the USSR's Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov arrived here today.

They were welcomed by PUWP CC First Secretary and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Present was commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty Viktor Kulikov, who had arrived here earlier.

Grosz Arrives

LD1407212688 Budapest MTI in English
2019 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and prime minister is heading the Hungarian party and government delegation which arrived to Warsaw to participate at the session of the political consultative body of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Members of the delegation are Matyas Szuros, CC secretary, Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs and Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, (all members of the CC).

The delegation is accompanied by Imre Szokai, deputy head of the foreign affairs department of the CC. Istvan Oszi, deputy minister of foreign affairs joined the delegation in Warsaw.

The Hungarian delegation was seen at the Warsaw airport by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party and president of the Council of State, Zbigniew Messner, prime minister and Jozef Czyrek, CC secretary.

Delegation Arrivals Listed

LD1507091488 Warsaw PAP in English
0041 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Delegations for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, to start on Friday, arrived here on Thursday.

The first to arrive was the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party CC Nicolae Ceausescu.

Next came members of the USSR delegation: member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, alternate member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is headed by Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia CC Milos Jakes.

General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC and President of the State Council Todor Zhivkov heads the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria while the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic is led by General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party CC and chairman of the Council of Ministers Karoly Grosz.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is headed by General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany CC and Chairman of the Council of State Erich Honecker.

The delegations of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty were welcomed by First Secretary of the PUWP CC and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, members of the Political Bureau and PUWP CC Secretariat. Present was also commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty Marshal Viktor Kulikov.

Talks Begin

LD1507082188 Warsaw PAP in English 0758 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 15—The Political Consultative Committee of states parties to the Warsaw Treaty started its debates here today.

The debates are attended by delegations of Bulgaria, headed by Todor Zhivkov, of Czechoslovakia, headed by Milos Jakes, of the GDR, headed by Erich Honecker, of Romania, headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, of Hungary, headed by Karoly Grosz, of the Soviet Union, headed by Mikhail Gorbachev. The Polish delegation is headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session

Rohlicek Speech

AU1207141388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 p 2

["From" the CEMA Executive Committee's report delivered by Rudolf Rohlicek, chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee and Czechoslovakia's permanent representative to CEMA, on the opening day of the 44th CEMA session in Prague on 5 July]

[Text] The Executive Committee submits for discussion a report on CEMA's activity during the period between the 42d and the 44th CEMA sessions. This is a period during which the strategic plans of the congresses of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member states began to be implemented.

In addition to the fulfillment of the 5-year plans, a number of states were implementing measures aimed at restructuring the national management systems. Positive changes were accomplished in the international-political sphere and trust among nations was strengthened. The new international conditions created, thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member states, a more favorable climate for the CEMA member states' cooperation with other states.

The 43d (extraordinary) session has become an important milestone in CEMA's activity. That session approved measures for restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration as well as CEMA's activity, measures which created the necessary conditions for implementing the tasks arising from the conclusions of the economic consultation of the CEMA member states on the highest level and from the working meeting of ranking representatives of the fraternal states in November 1986.

These measures made it possible for our community to enter a new stage of development, in which CEMA's activity concentrates, in particular, on resolving strategic questions of mutual cooperation and on working out questions connected with restructuring and further developing the mechanism of cooperation. Those stipulations also have opened the scope for extensive participation by economic organizations in the integration process.

Therefore, the Executive Committee report centers, above all, on the course to take in perfecting the structure of the CEMA bodies and their activity and, further, on the results as well as problems which accompanied the preparation of the proposals submitted at the 44th CEMA session. At the same time, the report assesses the course and the results of the implementation of tasks stipulated by the economic consultation of the CEMA member states on the highest level and other previously approved resolutions, programs, and multilateral agreements, which came into being on the initiative of CEMA bodies.

The CEMA Executive Committee and the appropriate bodies paid an exceptional and concentrated attention to the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000. However, until now its implementation has not yielded the anticipated benefits regarding raising the technical and technological standards of our community. Therefore, the appropriate CEMA bodies submit to the 44th CEMA session for discussion a more detailed report and a number of proposals for improving the situation in that sphere.

CEMA bodies also worked intensively on a draft of the Collective Concept of the International Socialist Division of Labor for the 1991-2005 Period, which is also being submitted to this CEMA session. A number of CEMA bodies are preparing proposals aimed at resolving individual questions pertaining to the restructuring of the cooperation mechanism, particularly questions concerning the perfection of the creation of forms of contractual prices in mutual trade and the determination of their basis for 1991-95.

Considerable attention was paid to the implementation of tasks stipulated by the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session in the sphere of foreign currency-financial and credit relations. The interested CEMA member states took their first steps regarding the use of national currencies in billing and payments for mutual deliveries. The Executive Committee entrusted the newly established Standing CEMA Commission for Legal Questions with a number of demanding tasks aimed at deepening the legal base for cooperation, especially regarding direct relations between the economic organizations of the CEMA member states, which should in the future become an important source of dynamism for the development of cooperation.

The report states that, thus far, we have not succeeded in overcoming the serious difficulties which have for a long time accompanied cooperation in the sphere of multilateral specialization and cooperation in production, although this concerns increasing its share in mutual trade or expanding its base through new productions based on the outputs of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress and agreements on direct relations. We estimate that the restructuring of the national economic mechanisms and the mechanisms of the international socialist economic integration will help to overcome these difficulties.

Today, when the CEMA member states and bodies are entering the stage of coordination of their economic plans for the 1991-95 period, we must take an energetic approach to the creation of possibilities for expanding multilateral cooperation and ensuring timely and proper realization of all cooperative projects that have been agreed upon. What I mean in particular is the realization of large integration projects, and the implementation of skeleton agreements in the sphere of engineering, radiotechnical and electronics industries, agriculture, transportation, and communications.

This demand arises from the fact that the mutual trade of the CEMA member states calculated in current prices rose in 1987 by only 1.5 percent as compared with 1986. Also, its goods' structure did not markedly change, and this, as we know, applies to the year 1988 too. The Executive Committee is not satisfied with this state of affairs, and regards it necessary that the individual member states as well as CEMA bodies pay exceptional attention to questions connected with expanding and diversifying mutual trade, especially when it comes to making use of higher forms of cooperation.

In the past 2 years, the Executive Committee—in accordance with the tasks determined at the economic consultation of the CEMA member states on the highest level—intensively addressed questions connected with accelerating the development and increasing the effectiveness of the economies of the SRV, the Republic of Cuba, and the Mongolian People's Republic. The outcome of this effort are drafts of three special comprehensive programs for multilateral cooperation with those states, which also are being submitted to the 44th CEMA session.

The cooperation between CEMA and the SFRY continued to develop during the past 2 years. However, the fact that the growth of mutual foreign trade—despite the expended effort—has markedly slowed down is alarming.

Relations between CEMA and the Republic of Finland were also developing. Eleven new agreements on cooperation in engineering, in the cellulose and paper industry, in transportation, and in the sphere of the automation of production processes were signed in the past period.

In 1987, positive results were achieved in cooperation between CEMA and Angola, the PDRY, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Mozambique, and Nicaragua. At the same time, however, a number of difficulties arose in the multilateral cooperation of the CEMA member states with states which embarked on the path of socialist development, difficulties which unfavorably affected the further development of cooperation. Involved here are, among other things, organizational shortcomings in the work of joint commissions and inadequately utilized, effective forms of collaboration, such as the setting up of joint ventures. The involvement of economic organizations in this cooperation is also unsatisfactory; the mechanism of multilateral financing of projects, which are being built in the aforementioned states, has not been fully worked out.

The report also notes the need for the CEMA member states to expand mutual relations with states having different social systems, and to expand them by means of new forms, production cooperation, elimination of trade obstacles, and exchange of technical know-how.

Talks between CEMA and the EEC ended a few weeks ago, and a Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Official Relations Between CEMA and the EEC was signed. The Executive Committee regards this step as an important contribution to the implementation of the CSCE Final Act and an important element in improving the political climate in Europe and in the world.

The CEMA Secretariat was restructured recently, the purpose of which, in the first place, was to strengthen its economic, analytical, and prognostic activity, to ensure systematic checks and evaluation of the achieved level of cooperation among the CEMA member states, and to generalize the experience from the economic buildup of the CEMA member states. The CEMA apparatus is being organizationally simplified, and the number of tenured positions for employees of the CEMA Secretariat was reduced by almost one-third.

In connection with the report on CEMA's activity and the other documents submitted to this session, the Executive Committee prepared a draft resolution of the 44th CEMA session, which contains the appropriate recommendations for the CEMA member states and tasks for CEMA bodies.

In conclusion, permit me to assure the CEMA session that the Executive Committee will take all the necessary measures to implement the tasks that have been determined on time and to their full extent.

Atanasov Address

AU1207145288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 p 2

["From the Statement by Georgi Atanasov," chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers and head of the Bulgarian delegation to the 44th CEMA Meeting in Prague, at the opening session on 5 July]

[Text] The significance of the present CEMA meeting follows from the current processes and realities of international political and economic life, from the topical needs of the CEMA countries' social and economic development, and from the new complicated and responsible tasks in socialist economic integration.

The expansion and restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantages is increasingly coming to the fore.

The establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations is a significant political success of the new political thinking; it is also a favorable prerequisite for concluding bilateral agreements between CEMA countries and the largest economic grouping in the present capitalist world, for expanding mutual trade and economic contacts, for carrying out joint ventures, and for promoting joint interests (inter alia, on multilateral foundations). The development of CEMA-EEC contacts will establish material conditions for the transition to a new phase of detente in international relations in Europe, while simultaneously helping to improve the economic and political atmosphere in the world.

The report on CEMA activities between the 42d and 44th CEMA meetings (submitted here) correctly sets out the main results of economic development in the countries of our socialist community, and the results of their mutual cooperation during the past period. It must be said that the report submitted by the CEMA Executive Committee and CEMA Secretariat for discussion is characterized by an analytical approach to problems. We support the critical approach adopted in evaluating the development of our mutual cooperation, since it corresponds to the efforts to maintain greater objectivity and a more exacting attitude, not only in analyzing what we have achieved, but also in formulating further tasks, as is typical for our contemporary social life.

In view of the new processes and realities manifested and developed in the socialist community, but also on a worldwide scale, we are convinced that we have every objective prerequisite for creating a qualitatively new model of socialist economic integration. This model must fully provide for the maximum use of the advantages of the social system under conditions of scientific-technical revolution and, on this basis, for making mutual cooperation more dynamic and for achieving new social and economic growth. This model should take into account the possibilities of coordinating the economic policy and active collaboration of the economic organizations in CEMA countries, and guarantee that the socialist community's status will be consolidated within the world economy and in the international division of labor. We are convinced that the real foundations of purposefully and consistently restructuring our mutual cooperation lie in the conclusions adopted by the economic summit, in the results of the working meeting of top representatives of our fraternal parties (held in 1986), and in the resolutions of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session.

The tasks following from the resolutions which we collectively approved are being fulfilled in practice at what is, on the whole, an unsatisfactory rate. We believe that this slow and often difficult progress in the decisive spheres of socialist economic integration (regardless of the existing objective difficulties) is primarily due to the prevailing administrative approach to the problems of economic and scientific-technical relations between our countries (an approach which has already exhausted its possibilities), but also to the regulating mechanism of economic processes in the socialist community, which does not correspond to the demands of either today or tomorrow.

The first results of implementing the conclusions and recommendations of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session and working out the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress show that the basic concurrence of stands adopted by the member countries on the main goals and tasks is accompanied by a divergence of views on the approaches, methods, and ways of realizing them. We consider this natural, since it is a matter of the real interests of the participants in the socialist integration process. The application of new forms of coordination and of the balanced and unified interests of individual countries is one of the main factors in the current restructuring process within CEMA. We believe that, while striving to reach joint decisions, we should also make far broader use of the principle of promoting positive interest. In this way, the integration process could continue smoothly and the countries that are not properly prepared at a certain stage could join the common initiative at a later date. At the same time, we must increasingly coordinate our interests on economic foundations, by making increased use of the categories of relations between money and goods.

The basic structural and organizational changes formulated in the conclusions of the 43d (extraordinary)

CEMA meeting have been essentially concluded. Favorable conditions have been established for the CEMA agencies (including the Secretariat) to focus their attention on issues which are of truly strategic significance. We consider it particularly important to create within the CEMA agencies (but also at the sessions) an atmosphere of a free, frank, and vigorous exchange of views, and, on this basis, to work out resolutions touching on the essence of the issues under discussion, and aimed at taking effective, specific steps for developing cooperation.

Under the new conditions, all processes must be studied and objective trends uncovered even more thoroughly than to date; on this basis, documents should be elaborated and then submitted to the top CEMA bodies for discussion. In recent years, the CEMA bodies have been working out extensive documents and resolving complicated problems. As a rule, their elaboration was entrusted to working teams of experts from the CEMA countries or the CEMA Secretariat. Without wanting to cast the least doubt on their qualifications, we nevertheless believe that it would be in the interest of the cause to make a practice of involving the most prominent experts (scientists and practical specialists from our countries), as well as authoritative research institutes, in the elaboration of certain strategic documents.

In the CEMA member countries it is being said (and said with the utmost urgency, and at length) that the social orientation of our economic policy should be enhanced, since man and his needs are, after all, the highest objective of the strategy pursued by every fraternal party. One of the decisive prerequisites for accomplishing the tasks in this sphere is an increasingly closer integration of the national economic complexes of the countries of the socialist community, and the rational and coordinated use of their economic and technical potentials in sectors connected with meeting the citizens' social needs.

That is why we can say with certainty that our integration is lagging (and lagging very considerably) behind the changed priorities of our countries' social and economic development. The priorities in cooperation still reflect the typical features of the preceding development stage, characterized by increased attention to the problems and needs of expanded reproduction, to the so-called first group—i.e. the production of production means, which in certain respects was almost a purpose in itself. It is typical that the light and food industries lack extensive international cooperation; that cooperation in agriculture is insufficiently developed; and that integration is lagging in both the non-production sphere and in services. At the same time, it is not our sole concern to have the socialist economic integration increasingly contribute toward improving the living standards of our peoples and toward creating prerequisites for saturating the markets of CEMA member countries with modern consumer goods of high quality—it must also be said that the almost exclusive orientation toward cooperation in producing the means of production evokes factors of inertia, which make it difficult (particularly for smaller countries) to achieve the transition to the new model of economic development, based on the needs of man and society.

We believe that appropriate CEMA bodies should be rightly charged (under the leadership of the Executive Committee) with the task of analyzing the entire set of problems linked with strengthening the social orientation of our mutual cooperation and with working out specific proposals to be discussed at our session. The significance of the problems, as well as the need to bear in mind the appropriate proposals in coordinating plans for the next 5-year period, make it essential to discuss these issues at the next CEMA meeting, as part of the agenda which is being prepared.

Zemljaric Address

AU1107142788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 pp 3,4

["From" speech by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the SFRY FEC, delivered on the opening day of the 44th CEMA session in Prague on 5 July]

[Text] The mutually advantageous cooperation between the SFRY and CEMA continued to develop between the 42d and the 44th [CEMA] sessions. Expansion and perfection of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and the CEMA member countries is increasingly becoming an important element of our common, comprehensive, and good mutual relations. The trade exchange between the SFRY and the CEMA member countries accounted for roughly 40 percent of our total foreign trade for many years. For well-known reasons, the trade exchange decreased in the past 2 years, and amounts to 30 percent now. In the first 6 months of the year we could notice a small growth in our mutual trade and overall economic cooperation. To date, Yugoslav organizations have signed with the CEMA member countries more than 150 agreements and treaties on multilateral production specialization and collaboration, and scientific-technical cooperation. In the past 10 years about 80 such agreements were signed in engineering alone.

Yugoslavia, as a socialist, nonaligned, and developing country, has been implementing the principles of self-management and has always supported world democratic movements, the objective of which is to achieve security, equality, and development through resolving the most important international questions and strengthening joint responsibility for peace, security, and general progress.

Extensive reforms have got under way in our country this year. In a situation in which our country is grappling with the consequences of many years of stagnation in the development of its economy, with an antiquated economic structure based on autarchy, with inadequately effective involvement in the world economic currents,

with high indebtedness and an inefficient economic mechanism and, as a consequence, with high inflation and a deteriorating standard of living, a comprehensive reform of the economic and political system has begun and changes have been carried out in the interest of the development of the country's economic structure. Despite the fact that we have achieved certain results in the growth of exports, in the growth of agricultural production, in the development of tourism and other spheres, despite the fact that our balance of payments is positive, we have come to the conclusion that we must energetically keep on creating the necessary deeper prerequisites for the country's future more intensive and more advanced development.

We took important steps when in May we adopted this year economic-political measures in the sphere of the liberalization of prices, imports, rate of exchange, and market, and implemented realistic prices for production factors and market criteria in our economy. The existing complex process is also accompanied by the corresponding policy of restricting demand and by the coordination of money-market relations with the aim of ensuring conditions for the growth of accumulation in organizations of associated labor.

Already in the course of the current year we will carry out extensive changes in the economic system, which will be based on market principles. The strategic orientation of the system's reform rests in the independence of economic subjects, in the quality of consumer goods, in the strengthening of economic laws and the ability to compete on the market, in the economy's more extensive access to foreign markets, and in gradually achieving convertibility of the dinar. At the same time restricting normativism [normativnost] in and state regulation of economic life will contribute to this. Reforms of the economic system are being drafted in parallel with changes in the Constitution and other changes in the sphere of socioeconomic and political relations.

At the same time we have begun implementing momentous structural changes. We are abandoning too extensive priorities in development and adapting the concept of development to the market principles of efficiency. The main purpose of the existing changes is to ensure in the structure of the Yugoslav economy a substantial increase of the share of production involving a higher level of processing and services, and within the framework of this of export-oriented profit-making technological programs and projects, and more rational production components of the socialized private sector with a high degree of accumulation.

When carrying out the present changes we have encountered a number of problems, among them our great indebtedness abroad. In recent years Yugoslavia has been paying off foreign credits, the amount of which exceeded the level of the growth of social product, and in order to pay off the debt we needed almost 50 percent of our foreign currency receipts from the export of goods and services. For this reason we strove for an agreement—we also got it—to postpone payments on our overall indebtedness. We reduced the sum of the annual repayment rates approximately to one-quarter of our foreign currency receipts and ensured the necessary new foreign currency for modernization. Resolve, greater reliance on our own strength and development, a more efficient use of machinery, and the easing of the burden of the repayment of debts are important stimuli in reviving our economy and providing for its more dynamic growth. This also prevents the further aggravation of social problems. We are determined not to abandon the existing program of reforms.

We, in our country, appreciate and follow with great interest the great efforts and important changes in the economic system, as well as other reforms which are being realized in the CEMA member countries. This also applies to changes in the orientation of the development of cooperation within the CEMA framework. Yugoslavia shows increased interest in the further development of bilaterally advantageous cooperation based on the known principles. Yugoslavia also continues to strengthen cooperation with other integrated groupings in Europe and in the world on the basis of equal rights. We welcome the signing of the joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, which will contribute to the creation of a favorable atmosphere in the economic and other cooperation in Europe.

The successful cooperation to date between CEMA and the SFRY, the openness and willingness of the CEMA member countries to further develop cooperation with our country provides an opportunity to expand and develop this cooperation.

Editorial on Session

AU1307123688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jul 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Perfecting the Cooperation Mechanism"]

[Text] The deliberations of the CEMA session in Prague were held in a sharp, critical, and self-critical spirit; in an atmosphere of absolute openness and healthy dissatisfaction with the fact that the results achieved after the 42d CEMA session in Bucharest do not correspond to the expended effort. We can do better in our mutual relations, Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said tellingly.

There is no doubt that the session was influenced and inspired by the uncompromising, innovative approach of the Soviet Communists at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The session in the Prague Palace of Culture—to express it figuratively—looked the economic truth in the eye, and in this is precisely its fundamental importance.

Since 1985, the mutual exchange of goods among the CEMA member states has increased by only 4 percent, which is practically stagnation. For the most part, cooperation has been developing along the lines of the old stereotypes and has been contributing very little to the intensification of the national economies of the member countries. Specialization and cooperation of production have been developing slowly, frequently without a distinct economic effect.

The restructuring of the national economic mechanisms, which is the prerequisite for more efficient cooperation, has in the member countries a differing course and differing pace; individual countries sometimes give preference to resolving their specific short-term economic problems rather than to long-term conceptual solutions within the framework of integration. A warning resounded that cooperation will not progress unless the national economic mechanisms of the individual member states are dovetailed, as well as with the mechanism of the whole community.

A better mutual exchange of information is highly necessary within the framework of the synchronization of the national economic mechanisms. It sometimes happens in our community that "the right hand does not know what the left one is doing." For example, two or three member countries purchase, independently of one another, one and the same license in one of the capitalist countries, which leads to unnecessary losses in freely convertible currencies. Sometimes they purchase a license for a product which already exists in good quality in another CEMA country. The necessary "glasnost" in economic cooperation has, for the time being, low standards, and our economic personnel is often better informed about products in the West than about similar products within the community's framework.

The final communique which we published on Friday [8 July] provides, on the whole, a good picture of the results of the 44th CEMA session and describes in detail what was achieved and what problems remain unsolved, which will be the themes to be discussed at the next CEMA session in Sofia.

The adopted documents constitute the first step toward making the existing development better. First, the session discussed and approved the Collective Concept for International Division of Labor from 1991-2005. Despite the fact that its final text is marked by some compromises, it is a document of fundamental importance, which will become the foundation for the coordination of economic policy in spheres connected with mutual cooperation. The joint concept will be implemented stage by stage, and the session instructed the CEMA bodies to work out measures and agreements for its realization.

It was stressed that we do not perceive the international socialist division of labor as striving for autarchy, but as an integral part of the international division of labor within the framework of the world economy. In this spirit, we also received the recently concluded agreement with the EEC. Even though it has a declarative nature, it could become an effective impetus for the development of mutual cooperation.

The comprehensive programs for cooperation between the European CEMA member states and the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia, which are oriented toward resolving their topical social and economic problems and expanding their participation in the international socialist division of labor, are an organic supplement of the concept.

The session discussed future-oriented programs for the development of multilateral specialization and cooperative production in the engineering sphere, and in the radiotechnical, electrotechnical, and chemical industry. When coordinating their national economic plans for the coming 5-year plan, the member states will take into account the establishment of these programs.

An analysis was carried out of the course and the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000 and of its first priority—the computerization of the national economy. The session critically noted that the implementation of this program was encountering various administrative obstacles and still does not have an influence on the realization of the fundamental purpose, that is, for the CEMA member countries to advance to the forefront of scientific-technical progress, their products to be comparable with the world's best, and for them to go speedily into production. The tasks of this program must be realized fully, beginning with research, via production, all the way to the user or consumer; at the same time the question of financing must be resolved, because research work must be paid for.

Perhaps the most important thing is that all the CEMA member countries, with the exception of Romania, affirmed their earlier accord on gradually creating conditions for the mutual free movement of goods, services, and other production factors with the objective of creating—after a preliminary study of prerequisites—a united market in the future.

The situation requires more rapid progress in restructuring the mechanism of cooperation, and to do this one has to make use of the objective laws of socialist goods production. "Having realistic [realne] domestic and contractual prices, exchange rates, and interest rates is a vital necessity. Only in this way—by making cooperation economical—is it possible to motivate and stimulate states, as well as their economic organizations to improve the technical-economic standard of productions and products, to developing mutually advantageous direct relations, and--in the future—to form a united market," Comrade Lubomir Strougal conveyed the CSSR standpoint in his speech at the close of the session.

CEMA consistently respects the state sovereignty of the member countries, their decisionmaking freedom. No one can be outvoted or forced by the majority to yield to measures with which he does not agree. This was always the case in the CEMA community, and the Prague session was no different in this respect. However, this principle must not be perceived as a right of absolute veto by any country, a veto that would prevent the realization of those actions and measures in which other states are concretely interested and for which they are ready.

It is also necessary to stress the absolutely binding nature of all resolutions, agreements, and all concluded economic treaties. It is an ancient principle that treaties must be observed. Nonfulfillment of an agreement, nonobservance of the set quantity and quality will disturb the economic rhythm and, as a rule, cause a user a shortfall in production, idling, and losses. In the capitalist part of the world he who does not fulfill treaties must pay high penalties and compensate for any losses he has caused. Should this happen often, he is finished in economic life. This also should apply to CEMA. After all, our community is not some sort of inferior market on which one sells only products in which there is no interest elsewhere. This, too, was said at the Prague session.

The session did not only stick to critical assessments, but also determined solutions which will serve to accelerate the progress of the restructuring of the content, forms, and methods of the community's work.

The important thing now will be to jointly implement and concretize the determined intentions as fast as possible, because a document—no matter how good—is stillborn if it stays on paper only. Time and deeds will show to what extent the 44th CEMA session in Prague contributed to the common cause.

Romanian Conduct Discussed at Vienna Conference
AU1307091888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jul 88 p 2

[MTI report: "Several Speakers Have Discussed Romania's National Minority Policy at the CSCE Follow-up Conference in Vienna"]

[Text] Ambassador Rudolf Turovsky, head of the Austrian delegation, said at the 8 July session of the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna: "The fate of the Romanian national minorities gave grounds for concern before; now however, Austria and many other countries are regarding the Romanian plan aiming at the destruction of villages mainly inhabited by national minorities as a severe threat to the national minorities."

Devoting his entire speech to this subject, the Austrian diplomat stated that the protection of national minorities has from the outset comprised an important part of the Helsinki process. Treating national minorities satisfactorily is an important international factor which strengthens confidence, particularly in relations with countries which are related to a certain national minority for historical and ethnic reasons. A whole series of international agreements and the documents of the Helsinki process, which have international validity, stipulate concrete obligations for the protection of national minorities. Therefore, discussing the situation of those national minorities in Romania whose mother tongue is German or Hungarian at the Vienna follow-up conference cannot be considered as interference in internal affairs.

In the course of the session, Ambassador Dumitru Aninoiu, head of the Romanian delegation, sharply criticized his Austrian colleague. He described this expression of opinion on the Romanian "territorial reorganization" as unwarranted and illegal, because in his opinion the delegations to the follow-up conference are not sufficiently aware of the national minorities' situation in Romania and of this new "social and economic program." He said that a debate on this issue contradicts the spirit of the follow-up conference and the basic principles of the relations between the countries, and will result in deepening ideological differences of opinion, in increasing the spirit of confrontation and polemics, and in "encouraging chauvinistic and nationalist activities." Aninoiu said that Romania will further support the initiatives for the draft final document of the follow-up conference it submitted 1 month ago. So far, these initiatives have not been treated seriously and, if this situation does not change, Romania will not be able to adopt the draft final document.

William Bauer, the leader of the Canadian delegation, pronounced the Romanian attack against Rudolf Turovsky as unfounded. He said that none of the delegations wanted to incite contradictions by bringing up the subject of the national minorities in Romania. In his opinion, the Romanian reliance on ideological differences is unfounded and only aims at diverting attention from the essential issues. According to Canadian experiences, protecting both the mother tongue and cultural rights of national minorities and their entire identity can only strengthen a country and a state. From among the resolutions adopted at the recent Soviet party conference, he quoted those on developing national minority policy and on increasingly implementing national minority rights. Finally he reported that the Hungarian national minority in Canada had recently been expressing severe concerns over the grievances of the Hungarians in Transylvania and that the Canadian Government also considered these concerns as legitimate.

Speaking about the slow progress being made at the Vienna follow-up conference, other speakers also referred to the Romanian conduct. The leader of the UK delegation stated his dissatisfaction that "one of the delegations participating in the conference is drawing most of the attention to himself in a negative sense, and claims that, compared with the Madrid final document, no further progress can be achieved." He considered it untenable that one single country should obstruct highly significant progresses in the European process. Speaking about the same country, the Norwegian speaker stated that by means of excessively far-reaching proposals, this country is undermining substantial elements of the draft final document under discussion. According to the leader of the U.S. delegation, the country in question is blackmailing the other participants in the follow-up conference and thus—accepting a large responsibility—also slowing down the opening of all-European talks on disarmament although so far, it has acted interested in the disarmament process. The Swedish speaker judged that the subject of the national minorities in Romania, which has been brought up by the Austrian delegation, is very important from the point of view of the Vienna follow-up conference.

Mustaqi Comments on General Staff Anniversary

AU0707170988 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, and chief of the Army General Staff: "The Party in Command"]

[Text] On 4 July 1943, on the initiative of the Albanian CP Central Committee and by a decision of the National Liberation General Council, the General Staff of the Albanian Army of National Liberation was created at Labinot, near Elbasan. A special proclamation informed the people of this important event. This date has entered history as the day of the formation of the Albanian People's Army. This event, whose 45th anniversary we are now celebrating, is one of the culminating moments in the glorious epic of the Antifascist National Liberation War. The creation of the Army General Staff constituted a military and political victory of great historical importance for the party, for the recognition of the struggle of our people in the international arena, and for the fate of the Albanian people and of the revolution in Albania. At home the General Staff became an organizational, operational, and strategic center, under the leadership of the party, for all the armed antifascist forces in Albania. Internationally, this staff was to coordinate better and more fully the struggle of our people with that of the antifascist coalition. In this way, the armed struggle of the Albanian people entered upon a new stage of development and embarked upon the general armed uprising which was also made possible by the growth in the number of partisan units and groups. This process of organization and planning, put through by the party, gave us new experience.

The creation of the General Staff was a magnificent achievement of the party, closely tied to the personality of our legendary and unforgettable commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed that "The creation and development of our People's Army is closely connected with the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his political and organizational thinking, and his work as its political commissar and commander.

Our Army was born of our people's uprising and their struggle for freedom and independence, and of their revolt to gain a new life without oppression and exploitation. The first to enter the ranks of our Army were simple sons of the people. Their struggle was the struggle of a poor but patriotic people to realize their centuries-old national and social aspirations. Not only by virtue of its origins, but in the spirit of its organization, our Army was born as the Army of a new type that was heir to the finest patriotic and militant traditions of our people, which the party raised to a higher level. Therefore, this new fighting force was born as a revolutionary Army, aware of its class allegiance and its mission of national and social liberation. The party was at its head and commanded it from the very beginning. Its ideology was and is the ideology of the party. The secure leading role of the party has been and remains the guarantee of our Army's victories.

The party's ideas and teachings are embodied in the entire life of our Army, in its ideological, political, and moral principles which guide it, in its organizational structure, and in the military art that it practices. The party has always devoted particular care to our Army and has helped it to preserve and further develop the outstanding revolutionary characteristics it acquired in the war, to rely strongly and unshakably on the militant and patriotic traditions of our people, and to always maintain unswervingly the leading role of the party, standing firm without wavering in the slightest, faithful to the end to the interests of the people and the homeland, a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a fact that every attempt that enemies at home and abroad have made at various times to separate the Army from the people and the party and to alter its character has failed ignominiously. As it has always been, the Army will remain today and in the future as close as flesh to the bone with the party and the people that gave it birth, and will remain the loyal protector of our socialist homeland and our people's power.

Thanks to the party's unflagging care, our country today has a secure and independent defense system. Albania is not a member of any military bloc, and its Constitution does not permit either foreign bases or foreign troops. This reality is at the same time an expression of our total national sovereignty, and a palpable testimony to the freedom enjoyed by our country to construct its own life as it pleases, and to speak freely about world problems and international relations. Comrade Ramiz Alia, the general commander of our armed forces, has stressed: "We do not aim to attack any country, nor to invade any piece of foreign land. But, by the same token, we do not allow anybody to violate our borders, or to take the smallest strip of land from us." The party educates and trains our people in this spirit, both from the military and the ideological and political angles.

The important and constant tasks set by the party have meant that the party and youth organizations in the Army, in the high command and in the staffs of units, in the ministry and all our defense authorities have quick reflexes and respond promptly in order to solve problems with imagination. Life is continually being revolutionized in the entire process of military training. Order and discipline have been raised to new levels, and maneuvers and other duties are being carried out to the required standards. Similarly, there is an improvement in up-to-date styles of leadership and command in the staff. From units at the base to the ministry, Communists and cadres are being placed in the van of every effort. The leadership of the Communists, their personal example, and their way of approaching the most difficult duties, to which they offer sophisticated and professional solutions, are exerting a visible influence on all the

Army's work. It is precisely because Communists and party base organizations have been to the fore and have performed their proper role that troops have not only perfected their skills, but have cooperated closely with comrades in the field and have shown initiative and creativity in performing their duties, as was evident in such large-scale maneuvers as those in the Elbasan and Shkoder garrisons recently, and so forth.

The party and Comrade Ramiz Alia demand that the Army and all the people should carefully follow international events. The demagogy of American-Soviet summit meetings and their agreements on so-called disarmament cannot deceive the peoples, who clearly see the increased dangers for their freedom and independence. As a result of the aggressive policies pursued by the superpowers, their arms race, their rivalry for hegemony, and so forth, the superpowers have encircled the entire globe with their military bases. Their arms race, with its increases in nuclear and conventional weapons, continues just as before. Bearing this in mind, the situation must be assessed realistically as the party has instructed, and the Army also, as an active force in the defense of the homeland, must raise its level of training and military preparedness, and be unceasingly revolutionized. In this context, we must further refine educational work with Communists, young people, and cadres, raise this education to a higher standard, and make it more lively and varied. Reinforcing the relations between cadres and young people in the Army, and between the Army and the people, also assumes primary importance.

The party in the Army, alongside the major and comprehensive work it does in the command and with staff, must work in such a way that the youth organization maintains its vigor, feels itself more responsible for education, training, and military exercises and discipline, and speaks its mind with more courage whenever it sees that matters are stagnating or when a Communist or cadre exhibits shortcomings. We therefore demand that young people should take greater part in physical and military training, in science, art, and other activities, and that we should create facilities in many units to help in this. Such an understanding and performance of our duties will not only further refine the leading role of the party in the army, but will liberate the physical and intellectual potential of people to perform more successfully the duties they have been set by the party for continually strengthening the defense of our socialist homeland.

Leaders Attend Award Ceremony at Assembly

AU0807195288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] A ceremony was held today at the Presidium of the People's Assembly to award orders and decorations to a group of servicemen from the People's Army and the internal affairs organs. The ceremony was attended by Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of the people's defense; Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of internal affairs; Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff of the People's Army; Xhafer Spahiu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Shefqet Peci, chairman of the National Committee of War Veterans; officials from the AWP Central Committee apparatus, the Ministry of People's Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs; and other guests.

The servicemen were greeted by Comrade Rita Marko in the name of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

On this occasion he stated, among other things: I congratulate all of you and wish you tireless work and new achievements in your sacred duty of strengthening the defense potential of our socialist country and the dictatorship of the proletariat, being guided at all times by our glorious party's line, Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, the supreme commander of our armed forces.

Pointing out that the members of our Armed Forces have preserved, enriched, and raised to a higher level the brilliant traditions of the glorious National Liberation Army, Comrade Rita Marko stressed that our people, the builders and defenders of socialism, see in the members of the armed forces their loyal offspring, resolute fighters for communist ideals, and ardent defenders of socialist victories and of the interests of the people.

The decorations that we are awarding, he went on to say, are a reflection of the respect of the party and the people for all soldiers and officers who remain vigilant at all times and under all circumstances, are working conscientiously and with a high spirit of sacrifice, always prepared to carry out their duties honorably and selflessly.

In conclusion, Comrade Rita Marko instructed the servicemen to keep their decorations and orders proudly, to be happy and healthy, and to work even better and devotedly to further strengthen the Army and the organs of internal affairs, and to raise our socialist country's defense potential and make it even more invincible. The various orders and decorations were then handed out to the servicemen.

Bajram Mane, deputy chief of the General Staff, spoke in the name of the recipients, saying that the honor done to them is primarily a reflection of the great appreciation of the party for the work of the members and units of the Armed Forces, commands, and staffs, in their efforts to

implement with the greatest possible precision the demands of the military art of the people's warfare and the duties set out by Comrade Ramiz Alia, our supreme commander. He promised that they would place all their knowledge and capabilities unreservedly in the service of the country's defense, to further raise the standard of political and military training, and to turn into reality the tasks set out by the Ninth AWP Congress.

Comparison of Editorials on Yugoslav 'Revisionism'

AU0407190988 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 28 June carries on page 4 a 2,000-word editorial entitled "Forty Years of the Informburo Resolution on the Situation in the CP of Yugoslavia." The ZERI I POPULLIT article has been compared with the ATA version published in the 1 July 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 3-4, and found to be identical, except for the following passages which are not part of the ATA item but are included in the ZERI I POPULLIT version:

Page three, second column, between second and third full paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph: ...bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The Informburo call to fight against the danger of modern revisionism was a great service rendered to the world communist and revolutionary movement. It foretold the opening of a new front of ideological war, to which particular attention would have to be devoted. Today, once again, there is a need to strengthen the ideological unity of the international communist movement.

The stand of....

Page three, column two, at end of third full paragraph, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional sentence: ...known by all. Modern Yugoslavia is characterized by a range of features and phenomena typical of capitalism, such as anarchy in the production sphere, economic and financial crises, unemployment, inflation, emigration of the labor force, deep social differences, administrative corruption, the spread of spiritual degeneracy, and so forth.

The whole system....

Page three, column two, between penultimate and last paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional two paragraphs: ...the chauvinist policy.

The support the bourgeoisie, imperialism, and later Khrushchev and all his successors gave to Yugoslavia did not improve the situation in the country in the least.

The opening of the doors to floods of foreign capital, large foreign debts, and repeated concessions to the neocolonialist demands of the IMF, are facts that prove that the so-called system of "self-management" in Yugoslavia has become essentially transformed into a mixed Yugoslav and foreign joint capitalist administration which has led to greater dependency and subjection to world capital.

Time also proved....

Page four, column one, at end of last full paragraph, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional passage: ...their ardent partisans. This is perfectly easy to understand. A common anti-Marxist and antisocialist ideology unites the different currents of modern revisionism. The truth is that all the later currents of revisionism found their inspiration in this first strain of revisionism, which was criticized by Stalin and the Informburo against whom they all launched an attack, brandishing their capitalist theory and practice.

Of decisive importance....

Page four, column two, between second and third full paragraphs, ZERI I POPULLIT includes the following additional paragraph: ...threatening and dangerous.

The lessons drawn by the AWP from this long and historically important struggle have helped it to develop its political and ideological vigilance, to revolutionize the entire life of the nation, and to block the paths of revisionism in Albania.

The ideological struggle....

Zhivkov, Delegation Depart for Warsaw 14 Jul
AU1407173988 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 14 Jul 88

["Todor Zhivkov Leads Bulgarian Delegation to Poland"—BTA headline] [Text] Sofia, July 14 (BTA)—A delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, left today for Warsaw to attend the regular session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The delegation includes Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of National Defense, Mr Petur Mladenov, Politburo member of the CC of BCP and minister of foreign affairs, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Gorbachev Warsaw Proposals Examined
AU1407170988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jul 88 p 4

[Editorial article: "New Ideas for Common European Peace"]

[Text] There is no doubt that new foreign policy ideas and initiatives of the socialist states are destroying the primitive myths about socialism, which have prevailed in the West. The new proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Warsaw may be considered as a contribution to this.

These proposals are a specific expression of the "strategic idea" which should map out the path of a steady, and not by leaps and bounds, development of the process of detente and of reducing armaments on our continent. There is even more: The proposals in question are even more far-reaching—they are closely connected with the idea of building up a common European home continent on the basis of dependence upon each other and joint efforts of the European states.

This is, precisely, how we can evaluate the idea of creating a European center for the alleviation of military danger as a place of cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which could subsequently, turn into a supporting structure for strengthening all-European peace. Or, let us take the other proposal—concerning the establishment of an all-European "Reykjavik"—namely a meeting of all European countries devoted to one single question, namely: How to break the vicious circle and secure a transition from words to deeds in the field of cutting conventional weapons. This is also in accordance with the idea of building our all-European home with the efforts of the Europeans themselves on the basis of their own common interests for more confidence and cooperation. In this connection Mikhail Gorbachev once more recalled the specific stages which the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe should traverse. He described the following three stages:

—To make known and eliminate all imbalances and asymetries between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This requires an honest exchange of data and their minute verification [proverka], in order to avoid the notorious numerical discussion.

—To cut NATO and Warsaw Pact troops by 500,000 men on each side, making the cuts by disbanding formations and units with the simultaneous elimination of their regular weapons. This presupposes the elimination of the dual capable means which are part of the armaments in these units and formations.

—The reduction of armed forces and conventional arms should be pursued as long as the structure of troops has not achieved an exclusively defensive nature.

Among the new proposals submitted in Warsaw we will also discover an example of a search for unconventional solutions which are disrupting the established concepts and cliches, according to which the balance of forces can be achieved only through compensations of the "lagging behind" in the military sector. This pertains to the fact that the Soviet Union would be prepared to withdraw its similar aviation forces from the sites of forward basing in Eastern Europe, if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy their 72 F-16 fighter-bombers, which Spain has rejected.

It is clear that such new proposals are not propaganda. This is also confirmed by the positive reaction coming from numerous West European capitals, where the proposals were described as "remarkable" and "constructive," as proposals of "exceptional importance." This makes the prompt, negative reaction from NATO headquarters even more strange. The only thing they noticed in Gorbachev's speech was the "usual goal" (!?) of the Soviet Union to "cut" Western Europe from its transatlantic allies.

The truth is quite different. The fact that Mikhail Gorbachev submitted the aforementioned proposals on the eve of the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, shows that they will be most attentively examined by the top leaders of the allied socialist states. These new ideas confirm the topical nature of the Warsaw Pact peace program and once more require NATO's unmistakable and constructive response on this subject.

Jakes Addresses Army Political Leaders

LD1407193188 Prague CTK in English
1644 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 14 (CTK)—The need for a consistent application of the new principles of economic management in everyday work was stressed by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes here today.

Addressing a meeting of the chiefs of the Czechoslovak People's Army political organs, Milos Jakes called for a speedier introduction of the cost accounting system in enterprises and for a more resolute struggle against egalitarianism in remuneration which, he said, was a big shortcoming. Drawing attention to problems in economic development, he said they lie mainly in low effectiveness of scientific-technological development and in the high material, fuel and energy input in the creation of the national income. The success of the restructuring process depends on the extent to which inertia in thinking and outdated approaches will be overcome, he said.

The economic reform is an integral part of social restructuring, based on the deepening of socialist democracy, Milos Jakes stressed, pointing out in this context the importance of greater public information and of an open policy. Also urgent is the need for stepping up the effectiveness of ideological work, in connection with attempts of hostile forces to use the restructuring and democratization process to destabilize socialism.

Dealing with the situation in the world, Milos Jakes appreciated the positive influence of new political thinking, pursued by the USSR and the other socialist countries in international relations, and mentioned the significance of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, due to open in Warsaw tomorrow.

He said "we take a vital interest in improving the international situation. At the same time, however, we cannot ignore the fact that reactionary forces of world imperialism continue the arms race and the policy from positions of strength". The Communist Party will therefore see to it that the defence of the state is secured and the cooperation and alliance with other Warsaw Treaty armies is strengthened.

Czechoslovak Defense Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik said in his address that it would be an unforgivable mistake to underestimate the real danger posed by imperialist forces. The policy pursued from the positions of strength remains the main power instrument of the imperialist countries, Milan Vaclavik said.

Dubcek Writes to 'Prague Spring' Conference

PM1407102688 Rome AVANTI! in Italian
8 Jul 88 pp 16-17

[Letter by former CPCZ First Secretary Alexander Dubcek to conference in Bologna on the "Prague Spring": "Dubcek: Perestroyka Is Proving Me Correct"; first paragraph is AVANTI! introduction; italicized passages as published]

[Text] Here is the text of the letter sent by Alexander Dubcek to the Bologna conference on the Prague Spring:

Dear friends and comrades, my most cordial greetings to you all. I have been informed that there is to be a conference on the experiences of 1968 in the quest for and introduction of a policy of socialist rebirth later referred to as the "Czechoslovak Spring" or "Prague Spring" or, again, as you in Italy dubbed it, the "new course policy." My greetings, then, to communists, socialists, and the various left-wing and democratic forces.

I believe that your initiative was decided on in the belief that the CPCZ's gains of 1968 and the introduction of the rebirth policy opened up new scope, constitute the precondition for raising the theory and practice of socialism to a higher plane in tune with the requirements of the time, and are a real example of unity of theory and practice.

Therefore, for this very reason, the CPCZ's new program of 20 years ago constitutes an interactional contribution.

In this connection I cannot omit to recall Comrade Palmiro Togliatti's "political testament" (the introduction to the Yalta memorandum) in which he stated the need for new approaches to the social revolution and for the solution of the conflicts that arise during the building of socialism. For my part I consider its author one of the pioneers of a critical view of the paths—old and new—of socialist revolution. I believe nobody can deny this.

Without wanting to overstate the PCI's [Italian Communist Party] major contribution to the cause of socialism, it is a fact that by pursuing the Gramscian philosophical path of practice, it went beyond "the new course" through the assertion and practice of the indivisibility of the concepts of socialism and democracy and of truly equal-based international relations between parties and nations.

In my opinion there is here a *connection* between the PCI's conduct and the CPCZ's efforts to introduce the policy of rebirth defined in our 1968 "Action Program."

I still cite these ideals and the socialist movement, despite the fact that I am still portrayed (as are hundreds of my comrades in Czechoslovakia) as an opportunist and "revisionist."

The advocates of the military intervention and of the elimination of the "Action Program" argue that we want to exploit the current restructuring in the USSR to surmount the distortions that followed the antidemocratic change dating from 21 August 1968. This is not, and cannot be, so. Restructuring, with the *new policy*, only strengthens that aspiration of ours. Indeed, the efforts of the "disinherited" Communists and other civil initiative movements have continued over the past 20 years.

My interview with L'UNITA which appeared in January *was not the first time* that I took up the defense of the CPCZ of 1968 and rejected the erroneous conduct of the five Warsaw Pact countries. In 1974 I sent a long letter to the federal parliament and the Slovak National Council (lengthy extracts from which appeared in Italy too) and in 1975 I wrote to the communist and workers parties responsible for preparations for the Berlin Conference (the PCI, PZPR, and SED.) However, a democratic assessment of my thinking clearly emerges most precisely from my interview with L'UNITA.

I really am not an opponent of restructuring, of the rebirth of socialism, of its "renewal," as Mikhail Gorbachev rightly said in his congratulations telegram to Milos Jakes. On the contrary, I welcome and support every step taken in this direction, though in our country all this has yet to be carried out, to be translated into concrete steps.

Neither I nor my comrades can agree with the idea that our policy of 1968, the "Action Program," and its champions are "in conflict with the present requirements of restructuring." In official Czechoslovak circles and in those of the "five" there is still a negative attitude toward the things I wrote in 1974 and the aforementioned interview. In other words we are not in a situation of "socialist dialogue" either here or in the "five" countries. Only the defenders of the August 1968 military intervention have a platform and a voice. The policy that began to establish itself as proper to a faction and against the communist people's will following the military intervention continues [sentence as published]. Now it can be observed that *the supporters of the military intervention, pursuing personal ends and power ambitions, intend to carry out Czechoslovakia's restructuring on this basis.* By pursuing this path, however, they cannot enjoy the support of the broad masses or even of ordinary party members. Therefore not even this "restructuring" will yield the results that can legitimately be expected of it.

I emphasize again: It is possible to govern but not to dictate! [guidare] The Leninist ideal of socialism entails creativity, civil initiative, and enthusiasm. There is very little of all this in the practice of socialism.... The trust that the workers placed in the party with their initial enthusiasm has become lost in a process marked by so many distortions....

Actually it could be said that the "Prague Spring" needs no defenders and defends itself with its genuine documents—which, however, are not now accessible to the Czechoslovak (and not only the Czechoslovak) public—and the action of millions of men, living witnesses of that time, both Communists and non-communists, and above all the young people of the time. I consider this among the major achievements of the "Spring."

Now, on the other hand, official propaganda is making exhausting efforts to inculcate young people, starting at school, with the coarsest lies and fabrications about the policies and people of 1968.

It tries to make people believe that the intervention of an army of half-a-million men was carried out "in defense of socialism threatened with a counterrevolutionary return to capitalism, with Czechoslovakia's separation from the allied socialist community." When the facts that prove the contrary are put forward official propaganda produces another "argument": "You were weak and indecisive." Now we know that we would have been recognized as decisive and strong only if we had carried out a major change of course—radical, yes, but toward a return to the policy of old stereotypes. That is what they would have liked! But the decision of the "five" to carry out the military intervention and to dictate the situation within the CPCZ and our society clearly displays the position of the supporters of a return to the past within the Central Committee and the party and among the entire population (including the Ukrainian and Hungarian nationalities.)

If it is believed that the *principal result* of the military intervention decided on by the communist leaderships of the "five," with the Brezhnev leadership performing the crucial role, was the elimination of the "Action Program;" if it is recalled that 21 August was followed by the November CPCZ Central Committee resolution, the suspension of the formulation of a new mechanism of economic management, the enterprise bill, the nonpublication of the proceedings of the committee responsible for reviewing the political trials of the "personality cult" period and of the plans to institutionalize the defenses against any chance of a return to the period of illegalities, the ending of the debate begun by the publication of the draft new party rules—in short, if we recall how the entire democratization process was ended, then *it is precisely that coercive intervention that shows itself to be a counterrevolutionary act.*

In the interests of the further progress of socialism and of the restructuring under way in the socialist countries and in connection with the Soviet Union's general policy, *there should be a reappraisal of the political and military intervention in the affairs of the CPCZ and Czechoslovak society in 1968. The CPSU's present domestic and foreign policy sharply conflict with what was done at that time.*

Therefore the "five" should publicly dissociate themselves from the August 1968 military intervention. They would thus undoubtedly do a great service to socialism and its ideals and to world peace.

Since my interview with L'UNITA they [as published] have reached the conclusion that the "five" must now proceed from an acknowledgment that the intervention was *their decision.* The CPCZ's stance cannot constitute the basis for resolving the problem: It was the victim of that decision. The intervention did not take place at the wish or request of the Central Committee or the constitutional state bodies. In any case even a hypothetical "group request" should not have justified the allies' military intervention—not only because of *the anonymity of the authors of the request but above all because of their lack of authority to take such a step.*

I believe that a reappraisal, an acknowledgment by the participants in the military intervention in Czechoslovakia that this was a mistake—an intervention that dealt such a tragic blow to Communists and left-wing and democratic forces—could enhance the restructuring process' credibility and attractiveness. *This is also demanded by the undeniable similarity between the basic inspirational and political ideas to which we aspired in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and those now being set in motion within the socialist community.*

Such an acknowledgment must not be obstructed by the negative phenomena that undeniably occurred, though only marginally. In any case those phenomena certainly did not stem solely from the wishes of the leadership of the time: They were *inevitable,* as shown by certain events occurring in the countries that have taken the path of restructuring.

In connection with our 1968 new political course it would be useful to draw attention to the fact that our main impetus stemmed from *critical and revolutionary theory,* from our party's own experiences, from our social movement.

I am well aware that this issue—and others too, for that matter—should be examined in greater depth: Our country was the first to introduce a new political course, while in the Soviet Union the backwardness of the political thinking of Brezhnev and his leadership (whereby the CPSU's objectively pressing needs could not be met) became apparent and, as was subsequently seen, that conduct brought about backwardness and stagnation in the public life of the USSR and the socialist community.

It was in our country—not a major country and one proceeding from and influenced by different traditions—that it was first possible to recognize, as was indeed done, the need for the party and democratic public to seek new paths for all mankind's activities.

At the time I would have liked to cite Lenin in defense of our policy of rebirth. I was dissuaded from doing so, however. I took into consideration the fact that Brezhnev and the Soviet leadership were very hostile to a line of argument that transcended the confines of their own way of thinking. I had to abandon the idea (though the new policy did prompt further arguments), partly also in view of the fact that our socialist movement was (at the time of Stalin and Brezhnev) too much set in the mold of "universally valid principles." And yet Lenin warned (in "Extremism, the Childhood Illness of Communism") that "in this connection we must recognize the importance also of *certain characteristic traits* of our revolution" (my italics—Alexander Dubcek.) The same author forecast that "it would be a mistake to lose sight of the fact that following the victory of the proletarian revolution in one of the advanced countries there will probably be a crucial turning point, insofar as Russia would soon become no longer the model country but a backward country (in the 'soviet' and socialist sense)."

This is not the place, and neither is there the time, to show that in our country *from the viewpoint of the domestic situation* we had more favorable conditions for the policy of rebirth than the Gorbachev leadership perhaps has now.

With regard to the negative phenomena that I mentioned and that accompanied the rebirth movement, I cannot omit to point out that many were due to the fact that the CPCZ Central Committee lacked supporters of our new course within the CPSU leadership. This not only weakened but also in same cases ruled out the adoption of more effective and resolute political measures against harmful external tendencies.

The Communist Party was at the root of all our deliberations in 1968. We wanted—and still want—a party that is truly a political and ideological organization capable of acting within society on the basis of the gains and experiences of national and international science. This should ensure the most open and effective functioning of all the relations proper to the social organism, including the system of monitoring and gathering of all experiences. We must simply hope that every future renewed communist party is not society's policeman but at society's service. A political party becomes the vanguard not because an article of the constitution codifies its leading role. It does not acquire such a position by setting itself above society. It attains it only if it regards itself and works as an integral part of a living social organism. Therefore it must not close in on itself: It must live the life of the people and live for the people. Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, we wanted such a vanguard role in our country and it cannot be said that we lacked successes.

This is why the claim that the CPCZ's 1968 policy of rebirth and its democratization are the antithesis of the USSR's current restructuring sharply conflicts with the objective facts.

I do not want to repeat myself here by referring to other events and other times. The fact remains that the "Action Program" and the policy of the state and the CPCZ in 1968 are very close to the Soviet restructuring, very similar in substance, even bearing in mind that they stemmed from the particular situation due to our own conditions and history. The "Action Program" was an "open" document: We were, as we still are, aware that test of theory is revolutionary practice. It can now be openly stated that Brezhnev and his leadership—Gromyko and others—feared that the continuation of the Czechoslovak rebirth movement, the continued research and experimentation, would highlight even further the backwardness of Soviet theory and practice; revive and make active the party leaders, scientists, intellectuals, and journalists who had also reached conclusions similar to the CPCZ's. For my part, I believe that there were such forces within the CPSU, as is shown by the present aspirations to restructuring. They were not allowed to speak out and their assessments of the stage reached by the advanced scientific world some time previously were not heeded.

So to surmount the obstacle facing our movement the action program must not be set against restructuring and there should, instead, be an attempt to identify the aspects of continuity and shared inspirational ideas. This is the path pursued by the "excluded" Czechoslovak party and state leadership, the path pursued by hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-communists who were persecuted and are still discriminated against for their ideas about how to resolve the crisis of the CPCZ and of Czechoslovak society—a crisis, let us remember, that has extended well beyond our country's borders and become a heavy burden for the entire revolutionary and left-wing movement.

What I am calling for is the specific implementation of what was proclaimed 30 years ago by Khrushchev and and now again—more thoroughly and precisely—by Gorbachev during his visit to Yugoslavia (the Soviet-Yugosolav statement in March.)

I realize the complexity and difficulty of a step such as that which I have proposed. I believe, however, that it is necessary to view the CPCZ problem precisely on the basis of the "new thinking" and above all that it is necessary to take account of the Czechoslovak people's interests. This could in fact become the criterion for assessing the approach of the "five" to *their* decision 20 years ago and help to resolve the tragedy of that time. There should be full implementation of the Leninist principle that the party must always, under all circumstances, tell the people the truth....

Friends, several months have passed since the day of my interview with L'UNITA. Since then the world has evolved with its own momentum. Changes are apparent in connection with the solution of several regional problems. The Soviet Union and the world's democratic forces seem to be proceeding more easily toward a joint platform for mankind's survival, for cooperation. The interests of the whole of mankind—over and above class interests—are increasingly prevailing. This is a significant factor: Even in the policy of communist, left-wing, and democratic parties and even in my country a by no means concealed conflict is under way on the issue of human rights and basic freedoms and for the dignity of nations and individuals.

In this long-distance contribution of mine I certainly cannot express everything I feel, as would be possible if I were there with you. However, I would like to tell you about another feeling—a feeling that strikes me when I sometimes happen to think back to Gorbachev's speech on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I was struck, and am still struck, by the open and sincere rehabilitation of the Leninist old guard, of Bukharin and others.... I spent years in the Soviet Union; I lived there with my family from 1925; I witnessed the great successes and distortions of the socialist principles in the late thirties, when many of those revolutionaries' names were erased from textbooks. I experienced such a phase on a second occasion within the CPCZ in the early fifties and on a third occasion, together with my comrades (albeit in a different way,) I suffered its impact directly, following 1968. I believe the years I have lived and those I spent within the Communist Party's ranks (from 1939 on) are certainly more than enough to enable me to fully understand and support the efforts of the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade Gorbachev to restructure the CPSU and the whole of Soviet society, that is, for a process in which clearly *the future of socialism is being decided.*

This is what I believe and this is why I now say that the CPSU bears a historic responsibility toward its people and the world revolutionary movement.

I also hear rumors about the possibility of failure or collapse on the part of the current reforming leadership of the Soviet state and party. I do not believe it, I refuse to believe it. *First and foremost, the CPSU's historic blueprint is at stake. Furthermore the line that unites the interests of the whole of mankind—over and above class interests—also relates to Soviet restructuring.* I want the earnestness of my statements to be recognized. Let it be understood by both the socialist and the non-socialist world (and especially by those who hope for the worst) that in the event of the downfall of the supporters of reform, the advocates of Soviet restructuring, there would not simply be a return to the Brezhnev era in the life of the Soviet Union.

No, there would be a return a long way back, completely to the era of the methods identified with the so-called "personality cult." Let this be a time for the socialist movement but also for the supporters of Western democracy.

For my part, I see only one real option for mankind's development—the consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems. The time in which we live requires both systems to live on this planet in cooperation and under conditions of peaceful coexistence. This also determines their joint responsibility for mankind's future and development. I believe this should be the starting point for the communist parties' policy, especially in Europe. This policy should entail not a clear-cut stance in favor of the violent conquest of power but the presentation of a platform capable of winning over the masses to democratic and humanitarian social changes and revolutionary progress.

In this connection I would like to point out again that I do not consider myself part of any movement of dissidents, many of whom I am well acquainted wiyh, for that matter, because they worked for years for the country and for socialism. Many of them were persecuted and imprisoned for their activities against fascism and in support of socialism and some were even sentenced to death but managed to escape it. Their tragic "fate" and the continued policy of violence against people's conscience has prompted many of those in the "dissident" world to devote themselves to defending human rights. This too is a result of the most important of causes, which well reflects our society's past and present political situation.

I have been, and remain, a convinced communist influenced by the revolutionaries who preceded us. I am an advocate of a form of socialism of which democracy of the people and for the people is an essential part. Socialism and democracy are inseparable. Without the latter, the former is not socialism in the real sense of the word. Only the combination of the two in a single whole and a single concept gives socialism its real substance.

I send greetings to the participants in the congress, to Italy's Communists and Socialists, to the entire Italian people, and especially to the young generations.

Bratislava, April 1988.

Alexander Dubcek.

Leadership Leaves for Pact Meeting in Warsaw

LD1407165988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jul (ADN)—The GDR delegation to the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee left for Warsaw this evening. It is led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and includes members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, secretary of the Central Committee; Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense; Egon Krenz and Guenter Mittag, secretaries of the Central Committee and deputy chairmen of the GDR State Council; and Central Committee member Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs. The delegation is accompanied by a group of experts.

Present at the flag-bedecked Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport for the send-off of Erich Honecker and those accompanying him were members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Horst Dohlus and Joachim Hermann, secretaries of the Central Committee; Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Erich Mueckenberger; Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dr Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the Council of State; and other officials. Polish ambassador to the GDR Janusz Obodowski was also present.

Gorbachev's Speech to Sejm Favorably Assessed

LD1407090288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0219 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jul (ADN)—In a commentary on Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals in a speech to the Polish Sejm, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND says: "The new Soviet proposals, fully supported in Erich Honecker's announcement, aim at confidence, security, equality, and good-neighborliness in our European house."

"With that, it has to remain with the foundation of the Helsinki Final Act: with the recognition of the territorial-political postwar order. Wojciech Jaruzelski, in this connection, paid tribute to the alliance and the inner friendship between the PPR and the GDR before the Sejm. He turned against those in the West who dream of the alleged continuation of a Germany within the borders of 1937. Such political dreams are just as much in contrast to peace, and to the reduction of confrontation as the threat legend and the nuclear strategy of 'deterrence.' What is important is disarmament according to the principle of equality and equal security, dialogue, and constructive cooperation."

The new Soviet initiative was especially in line with the times because no break should occur after entry into disarmament. The initiative aimed at confidence-building, the strengthening of security in Europe, and the continuation of the disarmament process.

"As a country directly on the dividing line between both military blocs, the GDR has great interest in a European center for the reduction of the danger of war, which includes the possibility of continued cooperation between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO," writes NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. In Erich Honecker's announcement it was stressed that the corresponding Soviet initiative was linked to the proposals made by the GDR as well as by Poland and by the CSSR.

"Our republic supports the USSR's project for the summoning of a European summit meeting whose agenda should include the question of how words can finally be turned into action on the reduction of conventional armaments. The GDR is prepared to participate constructively in the preparation and execution of such a meeting. Experiences tell us that meetings at the highest level can only foster multilateral disarmament and support effective negotiations in other committees."

With particular attention and agreement, the GDR had also noted the USSR's proposal to withdraw air forces from advance positions in East Europe, if NATO does not redeploy its F-16 fighter-bombers to Italy as planned. "The GDR supports in general the three-stage plan to reduce conventional armed forces and armaments. The first stage provides for the elimination of all imbalances concerning the strength of troops and the most important armaments. With that the argument, often used in the West, of the continued conventional superiority of the Warsaw Treaty, of the 'threat,' is removed. It is well known that this argument serves as 'justification' for the so-called strategy of deterrence, for the clinging to nuclear weapons, even to their modernization, would mean the same as a continuation of the nuclear arms race," continues NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

"From that level which exists after the elimination of the asymmetries the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty states and NATO should then be reduced by 500,000 each—the second stage. The third stage is the further reduction to a level at which the forces of both sides would only bear a defensive character. Of great importance is that, not in this third stage but from the very beginning, tactical nuclear weapons, tactical offensive air forces and tanks should be reduced."

Krolikowski Receives FRG Environment Minister

LD1307210888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1019 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jul (ADN)—Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Dr Klaus Toepfer, federal minister for the environment, conservation and reactor safety of the FRG, in Berlin on Wednesday for talks.

Werner Krolikowski assessed the visit by the FRG minister as an expression of the efforts to further normalize and develop the relations between the GDR and

the FRG. He referred to the concurring view documented in the joint communique on the official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, that the relations between the two German states are of great significance for the preservation of peace. Werner Krolikowski stressed that responsible environmental policy in the interest of the people must today, more urgently than ever, be directed at averting a nuclear inferno, limiting and reducing armaments, and achieving international detente.

The two partners in the talk agreed that the GDR and the FRG should undertake particular efforts in this spirit. They expressed the joint view that cooperation on the basis of equal rights in environmental protection also serves and is useful for the political dialogue between the two German states.

Werner Krolikowski and Prof. Dr Klaus Toepfer paid tribute to the results achieved in the realization of the government agreement on the further shaping of the relations between the GDR and the FRG in the field of environmental protection.

Taking part in the meeting was Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management. Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the permanent mission of the FRG in the GDR, was also present.

Legal Figure Addresses People's Chamber Session

AU0907150588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 88 p 10

[Speech by GDR Deputy Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, director of the Theory of State and Law Institute of the GDR Academy of Sciences, on behalf of the Constitution and Law Committee, at the sixth People's Chamber session on 30 June in East Berlin: "Life in Peace Is a Constitutional Commitment With Us"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary,

Esteemed Comrade President,

Esteemed Deputies,

The Constitution and Law Committee accepts the present declarations of the People's Chamber parliamentary groups and the representations of Comrade Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, with great satisfaction.

The world public was witness when on 1 June 1988, the penultimate day of the summit, the ratification documents on Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed in Washington, were exchanged in the great Kremlin Palace. Thus the first disarmament treaty in the nuclear sector, which now has to be followed by others, came into force. The implementation of this treaty and further agreements in this direction with real disarmament results make peace in the world more secure. They serve to prevent the destruction of mankind by a nuclear catastrophe and safeguard the right of the peoples to a life in peace, which today has become a fundamental human right. Guaranteeing this is the basic prerequisite for the future of mankind. Thus someone who wants to advocate human rights in a convincing way today, has first of all to advocate peace and disarmament, equal and constructive cooperation between the states and peoples.

Active Contribution to the Treaty [subhead]

In total accordance with this, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of our GDR State Council, emphasized in his final remarks at the Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones: "All nations, whether large or small, want to protect the first and most elementary human right, the right to live independently. If nuclear danger is banned, the arms race stopped, and disarmament and cooperation progress, it will become possible to open up the rich resources of our earth for the free and equal development of states and the happiness of the people."

Since its founding, the GDR has been committed by its Constitution to this right to live in peace and to implement peace.

Even the first GDR Constitution determined that the state authorities have to serve peace and to maintain and preserve friendly relations with all peoples. Our valid Constitution has consolidated this commitment in concrete claims for action in Article 6. It is also consistent with this that the GDR advocates security and cooperation in Europe, a stable order of peace in the world, and general disarmament. By many initiatives and proposals, the GDR has tried and is still trying to meet its constitutional commitment in close cooperation with the Warsaw Pact member states. The result of the Moscow summit and the ratification of the agreement were also achieved with the mandate of the Soviet Union's allies. The GDR and the CSSR made direct active contributions to this and will make these contributions to implementing the treaty.

Esteemed Deputies,

I had the opportunity to personally participate in forming the opinion on the ratification in the joint commission on examining questions about ratification of the Soviet-U.S. agreement, which was established by the foreign affairs commissions of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to present our point of view at the third session of this commission.

To Create a Worldwide Coalition of Reason [subhead]

We understood invitation of a representative from the GDR People's Chamber to participate in this debate as an expression of the joint responsibility which our two states feel for the fate of this treaty—the USSR as one of its signatories and the GDR as one of those countries in which weapons systems included in the treaty are deployed. I was able to say in Moscow that GDR citizens acknowledge the signing of the agreement as a result of the pertinacious peace policy of the USSR, which was prepared to negotiate, and the high personal commitment of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and that at the same time they appreciate the GDR Government's efforts of many years to create a worldwide coalition of reason by a constructive policy of dialogue, in the formulation and implementation of which Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of our State Council, has a high personal share. The concrete steps of negotiation were coordinated with our allies. Although, on account of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, countermeasures had to be taken on the territory of our state, the GDR, as well as the USSR, professed from the very beginning the elimination of all these missiles by a constructive policy of understanding. We were also aware at that time that more weapons cannot bring more security.

At the mentioned session of the preparatory commission of the Supreme Soviet for the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, I was able to report on 24 March 1988 that the GDR had concluded all preparations that depended on it for the implementation of those regulations of the Soviet-U.S. treaty that concern its territory.

By drafting, signing, and confirming the trilateral agreement between the GDR, the CSSR, and the USSR and the exchange of notes with the Governments of the USSR and the United States, the GDR bindingly committed itself by international law to facilitate all necessary inspection measures on its territory and support its implementation. At the same time, the necessary measures were coordinated by the responsible GDR and USSR organs to guarantee smooth control of the observation of the treaty stipulations by the U.S. inspectors on the GDR territory. Of course, all these agreements were made with the sovereign state rights of the GDR being fully guaranteed and exercised.

The Constitution and Law Committee of the People's Chamber affirms our government's declared will to observe all modalities of the inspection activity which result from this agreement on inspections in connection with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

In this context, the inspectors are also granted the privileges and immunities necessary for the effective exercise of their function, under the condition that they observe the laws and legal regulations of our Republic.

No Pause in the Struggle for Disarmament [subhead]

Together with the other Warsaw Pact member states, the GDR will do everything to implement all parts of the first nuclear disarmament treaty and to further advance on the path toward a nuclear-free world.

As deputies of the People's Chamber, we have a clear order from all citizens to continue to do everthing to prevent pauses and delays in the struggle for disarmament and arms limitation. The Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, which was held last week and in which also deputies of our People's Chamber participated, is again proof of how seriously we take this order. Accordingly, the present declaration of the parliamentary groups is not only a documentation of our willingness to advance on the path of disarmament as fast as possible, but also an important guideline for actions for us and all citizens of our country.

Honecker Congratulates Mongolia on National Day

AU1207163088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 88 p 1

[ND report: "Fraternal Relations With the People of the Mongolian People's Republic Affirmed; Congratulations From the GDR on the 67th Revolution Anniversary"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have conveyed the following telegram to Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee, and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], and Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers:

Esteemed comrades,

On the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution, we convey to you, the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers, and all the MPR fraternal people cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and all GDR citizens, as well as on our own behalf.

Since the victory of the people's revolution, the Mongolian people, purposefully and full of initiatives, have created a socialist state that is respected all over the world, under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the MPRP.

In a close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the MPR makes an important contribution to securing peace and developing trust and cooperation, especially in Asia.

We can state with great joy that the relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples are constantly deepening and developing in the interest of peace and socialism, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We wish all Communists and all the Mongolian fraternal people new successes in implementing the great tasks of socialist construction in the MPR, as decided by the 19th MPRP Congress with a view toward the year 2000, as well as you, dear comrades, personal health and creative vigor.

Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph,

chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Honecker Congratulates Uruguayan CP Official
AU1207165788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Jul 88 p 2

[ND report: "Cordial Congratulations From the SED to Jaime Perez"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings telegram, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Jaime Perez, deputy general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay:

Dear Comrade Jaime Perez:

On the occasion of your 60th birthday, I convey cordial greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee, as well as on my own behalf.

As the son of a worker's family, from early youth you devoted your life to the struggle for the national and social liberation of the people of Uruguay. You have earned great merit in the ranks of the Uruguayan workers class, in the formation of their Marxist-Leninist militant party, to whose leadership you have belonged for more than 3 decades. Neither prison nor torture during the time of fascist military dictatorship succeeded in breaking your conviction or your confidence in victory. You became a symbol of communist steadfastness during those years.

We respect you as a passionate internationalist who is committed to developing and deepening trusting cooperation between our parties and peoples.

On your day of honor, we wish you, dear Comrade Jaime Perez, the best of health, creative vigor, and new successes in our joint struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

With communist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

general secretary.

[On the same page, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries a 50-word report on Jaime Perez having been awarded the Karl Marx Order at the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo]

Founding of 'Free Germany' Committee Celebrated
AU1407090488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jul 88 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND)—On Tuesday [12 July] a festive event, which was organized by the National Council of the GDR National Front and the GDR Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, was dedicated to the 45th founding anniversary of the "Free Germany" National Committee.

Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front, opened the event in the Ministry of National Defense with the GDR anthem. Prof Kolditz welcomed the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, Joachim Herrmann, secretary of the Central Committee, and Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense; the deputy chairmen of the State Council, Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany, and Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany; Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union; Dr Rudolf Agsten, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Manfred Flegel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Otto Funke, chairman of the Central Leadership of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, as well as other members of the SED Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the State Council, the People's Chamber Presidium, the National Council of the National Front, the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, among them former members of the "Free Germany" movement, and members of the GDR armed organs. Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, a delegation of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, headed by retired Lieutenant General Aleksandr Shevchenko, as well as other Soviet guests, were present. [passage omitted]

Lt Gen Alexsandr Shevchenko (Ret) conveyed the most cordial greetings and congratulations of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans and of the Central Committee of the Soviet-GDR Friendship Society. He described the manifold support of the German antifascists by the USSR as internationalism of action. We gave all we had to our German friends. This cooperation against the common enemy is the best proof of the internationalism of the Soviet and German peoples. Our struggle was not in vain, he said. The best expression of it is the existence of the first German worker-peasant state. He wished the GDR working people much success in further shaping developed socialism. [passage omitted]

Kessler Comments on Founding

LD1207202188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1438 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jul (ADN)—The "Free Germany" National Committee (NKFD), founded 45 years ago on 12 July, 1943, in Krasnogorsk, near Moscow, linked responsible people, men and women, from nearly all classes and social strata of the German people, said Army General Heinz Kessler. The founding congress of the National Committee extended the front of opposition to Hitler and, under the conditions of the war in the East, continued the struggle of the German Communists and all other sincere anti-fascists which they led, operating illegally or in exile, after the fascist dictatorship was established, against Nazi barbarism, against the preparation for and against the shackles of the imperialist war of conquest. Heinz Kessler stressed that the initiative for founding the "Free Germany" National Committee had emanated from the Communist Party of Germany, from that vanguard of the German working class, which constantly stood at the very front of the struggle for peace, democracy, and a happy future for the people, and in this struggle made the greatest sacrifice.

The minister stressed that the platform for the struggle developed by the national committee was objectively acceptable to all classes and strata of the German people—irrespective of their political and religious convictions.

The founding of the "Free Germany" National Committee on Soviet soil took place with the great support and full understanding of the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. The vanguard of the German working class, the German Communists, stood close to the Soviet state from its founding onward and felt closely united with Lenin's part.

The party always linked the extension of the thought of friendship with the Soviet Union to the decisive exposure and battle against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in all its forms—also under the difficult conditions of fascist rule.

The spirit and actions of the national committee and the "Free Germany" movement belonged to the best traditions of our people and its socialist armed forces, said Heinz Kessler. The National People's Army and the GDR border troops were not only the proud inheritors, but at the same time, active advocates and perpetuators of the battle traditions of the "Free Germany" movement. The patriotism and internationalism of the fighters against fascism, including the "free Germany" movement, live on in the youth of today, in their convictions, and in their desire to support the construction of socialism and its reliable defense.

The history of the "Free Germany" movement, its solidarity with all peace-loving people and the diversity of the antifascist resistance are a rich area for further forming socialist consciousness of history for the young, said the speaker. We in the GDR heeded and implemented the lessons from the anti-fascist resistance. We could say with great justification that the legacy of all its heroes continues to live on in the deeds of our citizens toward extensively strengthening our socialist fatherland.

Particularly in the field of foreign policy, in the most important question of international politics, safeguarding peace and averting a nuclear inferno, the broad alliance policies of the SED and the GDR proved themselves to be an effective contribution to the international struggle of the Soviet Union, the socialist states, and all other forces of peace.

The lessons and understanding gained from the struggle against imperialism and its policy of war, against the outbreak of and for the cessation of two world wars, would find an energetic and successful application appropriate to the present new conditions, stressed Heinz Kessler. The broad agreement with the declaration that war must never again emanate from German soil shows that the preservation of human civilization from nuclear destruction has to stand above all class, philosophical, and other political interests.

Hager Speaks on Art and Politics at Academy

AU1207095488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—"Politics and Art—Today and Tomorrow" was the topic of a regular plenum of the GDR Academy of Arts which was held in Berlin on Thursday [7 July]. Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, was welcomed by Academy President Prof Dr Manfred Wekwerth on behalf of all members and assistants. [passage omitted]

In his introductory remarks, Kurt Hager commented in detail on the tasks and responsibilities of politics and art today and in the future. He characterized social development in our country as a process of qualitative innovation and underlined in this context that the discoveries of art, which have to be taken as seriously as those of science, are irreplaceable.

Revolutionary changes of the productive forces that have been unprecedented in history are being caused by the scientific-technological revolution. This shows how justified the decision in favor of the development and application of microelectronics and other key technologies was. A scientific-technological revolution requires creativity and creative activities, to the development and effectiveness of which artistic and journalistic work can contribute much. Cooperation between writers and artists and economic functionaries and scientists is indispensable for finding and inventing stories about people whose job it is to, and who are willing to, master the key technologies.

Moreover, Kurt Hager stressed that socialist-realist art, in its broadness and variety, is the art that corresponds to the socialist society because it helps the working people find the answers to complicated and serious questions of their lives, and because it contributes to developing socialist thinking and acting and to creating the power and endurance that are necessary for overcoming difficulties and further strengthening socialism. The principle that every kind of art and literature that considers itself committed and attached to peace, humanism, and anti-imperialist solidarity has its place in our country's intellectual life will remain unchanged. He recalled Brecht's statement: "All the arts only contribute to the greatest of all arts, the art of living."

Moreover, Kurt Hager pointed out that literature and art also have an important task in further developing the knowledge of history, especially of the young generation. One has to deal carefully with history and beware of semitruths, distortions, and omissions. Again and again, new things will have to be added to known facts on account of social development and historic research.

Kurt Hager dedicated ample space to the question of preserving and securing peace. Today and tomorrow's politics and art are confronted with the obligation to be active for peace. In spite of all the progress, much remains to be done to ban the danger of a nuclear inferno once and for all. The GDR will contribute to this by consistently continuing the policy of dialogue. Art, the word of which is of great importance to peace, is to continue to increasingly use all its means and possibilities of raising its voice.

Cultural Exchange Promotes the Process of Detente [subhead]

Regarding relations with the Soviet Union, Kurt Hager said that the firm alliance and universal cooperation on all levels, which is further deepening, was, is, and always will be of primary political and economic importance to the GDR. There is agreement on the fact that a model of socialism that is applicable to all countries does not exist. Each party has to find and determine by itself concrete ways to solve the individual tasks that correspond to the development conditions in its own country.

With the CSCE process, cultural relations and cultural exchange have developed on a broader basis. They contribute to confidence-building and establishing good-neighborly relations, help to reduce prejudices and getting to know national cultures, and, accordingly, are important with regard to peacemaking and promoting the process of detente. There it becomes evident that cultural and artistic cooperation is closely linked with ideological confrontation. The extension of the relations regulated by the state has created new possibilities of deepening and developing the various forms of cooperation on a social and commercial level. In this context, the GDR has always advocated the balance and mutual character of the interstate cultural exchange.

Finally Kurt Hager expressed his conviction that the Academy of Arts will also contribute to meeting the high requirements in the nineties. [passage omitted]

Grosz in USSR Comments on Talks, Domestic Issues

AU1407183588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Jul 88 p 3

[Report by NEPSZABADSAG special correspondents Peter Dunai and Andras Kanyo on a a press conference held by MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz attended by Soviet and Hungarian correspondents at the International Press Center of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow on 5 July: "Both Countries Would Like a More Vital Kind of Socialism—Press Conference at the International Press Center"]

[Text] On Tuesday afternoon [5 July], Karoly Grosz met with Soviet and Hungarian correspondents at the International Press Center. He thanked his hosts—the Soviet correspondents—for their objective and well-informed articles on Hungary, and assessed his talks during the day.

Grosz reported that his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was conducted in a very good atmosphere and that it was valuable and useful. He briefed his partners to the talks on the domestic policy situation in Hungary and on Hungary's tasks after the party conference. His host briefed Grosz on his own views on the 19th CPSU Conference which demonstrated the historical results of restructuring to the whole world. They held consultations on bilateral relations and the tasks of the coming years, and reviewed several topical issues concerning international life. Grosz stressed that the party conference had established all the conditions necessary for further progress. However, he emphasized that the most difficult part is still ahead. The Hungarian economy has been functioning at an unusually low level of effectiveness for several years; this should be changed positively. That is, product assortment and the system of economic management should be modernized, and fundamental discipline should be established in production activity.

Then the correspondents asked questions about the situation of the two countries, the nature of the changes in Hungary and the Soviet Union, and about Hungary's domestic economic difficulties. Issues like Grosz' views on environmental protection, Hungarian-Romanian relations, and the freedom of the press in Hungary were also discussed.

A TASS correspondent asked about the nature of the Hungarian process of renewal and its particular national features. As he formulated it, Hungarian reorganization is associated with Grosz' name, and Soviet reorganization with Gorbachev's name. In his reply, Grosz referred to his talks with Gorbachev: "The Soviet General Secretary said that the Hungarian search for a way is the closest to the processes under way in the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the philosophy behind both the Hungarian and the Soviet changes is identical. Naturally there are also national specifics. An identity is also evident in the recognition that economic reform can only be implemented together with the modernization of the political system. The only difference is that the Soviet Union reached this conclusion in 3 years, whereas this took us 20 years."

Grosz said that on the whole, the Soviet Union and Hungary are not "in the same league" concerning their size and economic capacity. To demonstrate how heavy Hungarian dependence on the international market is, Grosz quoted statistics according to which 55 percent of the overall Hungarian production is marketed abroad, whereas the similar figure for the Soviet Union is 10 percent. This signifies a qualitative difference. A slight change on the foreign currency market, a change which does not even affect the Soviet economy, will shake us very severely. Our physical structure has to be much more flexible, said Grosz, referring to a requirement resulting from the openness of the Hungarian economy. In conclusion he stressed that the identity in substance of the processes under way in both countries are decisively important. Both the Soviet Union and Hungary would like a better and more viable socialism.

The PRAVDA correspondent asked if the radical changes under way in Hungary and the Soviet Union contribute to the process of CEMA integration. Karoly Grosz gave the following answer: "I hope that this multifaceted reorganization will be fruitful, because it is almost generally recognized that reorganizations will also have to occur within CEMA. The Hungarian position has been known for years. Our CEMA partners have never entered into an open debate with us because they have not had direct objections to the Hungarian initiatives. However, for the time being we do not know what to do with the answers. I think that the accurate way of formulating this is that the situation is not yet ripe."

After this, Grosz responded to questions concerning the situation in Hungary. The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent asked about the role of the Hungarian press, what it can write about and what it cannot.

Grosz said that the Hungarian press can, and also does write about any topic. I think that our press makes use of the opportunities and enjoys its freedom. Naturally it has not yet become entirely used to it and therefore its self-control does not always function adequately. This is a temporary state and a short childhood illness. The general secretary stressed that the press is playing a decisive role in the process of democratization. He evaluated that the Hungarian press on the whole supports our policy in an extremely constructive manner. He also pointed out that the publicity of information will be extended to more and more spheres in Hungary.

Grosz was asked about the relations between the party and the intelligentsia. He replied that relations between the party and a stratum of the humanistic intelligentsia are not synchronized, and added that the working style

and the approach of the party are responsible for this because they have avoided open debate on the issues that concern the intelligentsia. He said the following: "We are convinced that without the active support of the intelligentsia we will not be able to extricate ourselves from the difficult situation. Recognizing this, the Hungarian party leadership has determined to extend further support to some strata of the intelligentsia—since it does not have the financial capacity to support all strata—in the form of providing incentives for concrete programs and forms of research.

Still on the subject of the intelligentsia, Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, wanted to hear about the situation of the Hungarian social sciences.

In his reply, Grosz said that consultations were also held with the well-known Soviet scientists 2 decades ago. "I was then, and I still am dissatisfied with the situation of the social sciences. In my opinion, economic science has developed the most. It has approached many new issues, addressed many new problems, and also solved some of them. Some 2 decades ago I was inclined to consider sociology as a bourgeois science. Later I reviewed my opinions and concluded that this scientific branch is very helpful today. Concerning historical research, their bravery extends to the past but not the present. This presumably results from the inability of contemporaries to judge their own period. In this spirit, we have rewritten the history of our recent past several times. The leadership should provide more opportunities and make more resources available so as to enable historians to analyze events, like the 1956 counterrevolution."

Grosz stressed that one of the outstandingly important achievements of Hungarian historical science is discussing the historical development of the Hungarians beyond Hungarian borders in a well-balanced and objective way.

At the end of the press conference and on behalf of the heads of the Soviet press center, deputy spokesman Gremitskikh thanked Grosz for his briefing. The correspondents thanked Grosz for his witty, accurate, substantive, and informal answers which did not at all follow established patterns, with great applause.

Grosz, Delegation Leave for Warsaw Meeting

LD1407164588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Karoly Grosz, party general secretary and prime minister, has left for Warsaw at the head of a party and government delegation to the Warsaw Treaty's political consultative body session. The delegation includes Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros, Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, and Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati.

Last Day of MSZMP Central Committee Session

Economic Alternatives Debated

LD1407111988 Budapest MTI in English 0958 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 14, 1988, (MTI-ECONEWS)—Funds supported by foreign credits cannot be secured for the "A" alternative plan currently debated in the CC of the HSWP, said Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary on Wednesday during the session of the CC.

There are actually two alternatives submitted to the CC. The "A"plan aims at fast and radical changes towards efficiency through liberalization, deregulation and a newly perceived "rule of the law" in the economy to replace the current confused system of bargaining about regulation between the government and enterprises.

But the side effect of this alternative will be, already next year, a greater inflation than the 15 percent envisaged for 1988 and an acceleration of unemployment with 80,000 to 100,000 redundancies in the near future.

But, according to the PC of the CC, this will make possible a recovery in 7 to 8 years time.

Alternative "B" is geared to a much slower pace in the same direction with some of the old restrictive policies sustained. Although this concept would be more acceptable to welfare advocates, it is burdened with the danger of an eventual slide back to the old regulative ways of controlling the economy and the PC advises the CC not to support this alternative.

The majority of speakers generally backed the "A" alternative Wednesday but they warned that before giving it an unconditional green light it should be elaborated in more detail.

Some speakers said the possible inflation and unemployment figures were too high. Many were of the opinion that before deregulation and liberalization the government should come up with a more clear-cut picture about the direction structural changes would be steered in the economy.

Quite a few members of the CC said that past experiences justified doubts about whether the government would be able to stick to its word concerning "the rule of the law without exception", and to securing that in a deregulated and liberal system where state, cooperative and private enterprises are ideally treated equal before the law, no state company should somehow again become "more equal".

Some members were of the view that the "A" and "B" alternatives should be blended.

Rules on Economic, Retirement Plans

LD1407121788 Budapest MTI in English 1055 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—On Thursday the Central Committee of the HSWP ended the debate on the first point of the agenda, heard the summary of Miklos Nemeth and unanimously took a stand against the introduction of the new retirement scheme on January 1, 1989. The Central Committee made a decision on the question of 'A' and 'B' alternatives. The Central Committee holds it necessary that competent bodies elaborate the 'A' version in detail and simultaneously brief the body on the calculations and plans related to the 'B' version this autumn. The decision was made with three votes against and one abstention.

The Central Committee unanimously adopted the report, the contributions, the keynote address and the answers to the questions.

Decisions on Economy Made

LD1407163888 Budapest MTI in English 1223 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—On Thursday morning the session of the Central Committee of the HSWP continued with a debate on the economic situation and development alternatives necessary for a turn. Istvan Orban called the expansion of economic frameworks favourable but regarded as a negative phenomena the increase in vegetating companies. Laszlo Boros citicized the frequent change in regulations and the delays of decision-making and action.

Istvan Judik held the view that due to insufficient information one can not take a stand for either of the alternatives at the moment. Pal Romany called for clarifying what direction the Hungarian economy is turning to, what tasks it continues to undertake, and what has to be changed.

On the reform of the socio-policy concept adopted in 1984 Judit Csehak said that the new plans has to be forged into a coherent concept as soon as possible facing demographic problems, the tension of unemployment and the threat of drug misuse.

She underlined that during the Central Committee debate it was raised several times that a "social catchnet" can be established only with comprehensive collaboration and social solidarity.

Contributors pointed out that the implementation of the economic plans largely depends whether the confidence of the people can be won to the new programmmes. To this end fast and exact information is needed. Others called the comprehensive information of the people a prerequisite to the increase of social tolerance.

As reported earlier, the HSWP CC session ended the debate on the first item on the agenda, at which 26 oral and two written contributions were made.

To sum up the debate, Miklos Nemeth, who put forward the report on Wednesday, said that the debate complied with the spirit of the national party conference and reconfirmed that in the future alternative plans and conceptions should be worked out. According to the contributors, sincere words reflecting doubts and openness do not arouse mistrust in the people. Only a well-informed society which is aware and identifies itself with its tasks can break out of the current situation which is particularly crucial. Nor can we exactly define all elements of our new scale of values. However, we cannot simply step over the difficulties accumulated in 30 to 40 years and solve our problems overnight. Neither should we conceal that no matter in what direction we move, there will be not only losers but also winners.

There is no solution that only involves advantages. Interests should be confronted in open debates, making it possible for both the individual and the enterprise to make headway.

Miklos Nemeth said that the majority of contributors proposed the government to elaborate the 'A' version but all of them added their doubts and justified or less justified warnings.

Miklos Nemeth said that on elaborating the 'A' version the government should take the following four factors into account: It must be recognized that the issue of financing is not yet settled, Hungary should work out a strategy for CMEA relations, the number of people who will be unemployed for shorter or longer periods of time should be clarified, and managers should have a greater stake in the prosperity of their enterprise.

Addressing concrete issues, Miklos Nemeth said that the government did not intend to increase the real value of defence costs. As to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, discontinuation would cost more than rapid completion, if the enviromental aspect is also taken into account.

Then the Central Committee passed decision. As reported earlier, the Central Committee, revoking a previous decision, declared that the new pension scheme cannot be introduced January 1, 1989. The CC were to have decided on a proposal for putting the development versions to public debate but the CC member concerned withdrew his proposal.

As to the two versions, the chairman proposed that the Central Committee should advocate the elaboration of the 'A' version, recommending also the 'B' version for further study. The Central Committee should be informed on work done in October. The Central Committee approved of the proposal with three votes against and one abstention.

Fejti Speaks on Civil Rights

LD1407163988 Budapest MTI in English 1400 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—Gyorgy Fejti, CC secretary, put forward a proposal for the main guidelines of the regulation of the rights of assembly and association.

According to Fejti, citizens have to be convinced through their own experience that the reform endeavours have prospect and chances, and they have to fight conservatism, irrationality, wastefulness and misuse of power. All this requires a critical analysis of the established concept and practice of civil rights, including that of assembly and associations. The speaker pointed out: 'a consistently humane society, as we consider a socialist society to be, has to ensure the assertion of civil rights to an ever increasing extent.'

Subsequently Gyorgy Fejti took stock of the statutory provisions in force on the right of assembly and association underlying that [as received] the present regulation is insufficient. Clear-cut and codified relations has to be established both for the citizens and the authorities. The fundamental principle of the new law is that the assembly and association is a civil right based on the Constitution, the practice of which, in accordance with international declarations and proceedings, can be restricted with or bound to prerequisites by law. When certain forms of the range of the right of assembly and association are bound to report, they cannot be banned unless they exceed the limits of the law. [sentence as received]

Citizens can challenge a ban of this kind at the court, where it is the authorities that have to prove the legality of the decision. The new bill under preparation has to make it clear that the practice of the right of association cannot infringe on the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic, its foreign policy, international commitments, the security of state, the public order, security, health and morale, and the rights and liberty of others. State management bodies are authorized to supervise the legality of the practise of the right of assembly and association, but regulations are to make their action predictable.

The secretary of the Central Committee pointed out that the right of assembly and association may give more range to the expression of civil discontent, which is not in the interest of the policy to conceal. 'We have to strive to explore the real causes behind the discontent and find a solution in cooperation with the citizens.'

'We have to give confidence to all civil initiatives whose goals accord with the norms of the socialist society. We have to put aside reservation and mistrust felt towards organizations outside the current structural framework. It is not necessary to integrate them into the standing organizations and movements at all costs (...). Our interest lies not in confrontation but in cooperation. We have to start from the recognition that it is never the spontaneous civil initiatives that pose a threat but the lack of them, along with indifference and passivity.

According to Fejti a significant part of the population, especially among the professionals, is not only discontented but also voices concepts that differ from the official position of the party. This phenomena cannot be called oppositionist, rather be characterized as alternative thinking in the classical sense of the word. Representatives of these views takes a position not against socialism but against the malfunctions of the operation, which they would like to tackle within the framework of socialism.

The bill under preparation provides opportunity for settling the relations with groups representing alternative thinking. To this end it is required that these groups, in accordance with the spirit and the letters of the law, define themselves as distinct from the anti-socialist persons and groups. Forums of consultation have to be set up where alternative concepts can be discussed. We have to establish a political culture where alternative concepts are handled in a constructive way. 'This is in the interest of all forces that look for genuine renewal and development. But it is not in the interest of those who are striving for confrontation and a trial of strength. To be sure there are anti-socialist and anti-system forces even if their basis is small. There are persons and groups who with their views and actions exclude themselves from dialogue, although they advocate other views. We have to make it clear that for these groups and persons the law does not give any scope of action.'

'For a long time our party has been following the practice of tackling the problems by peaceful means, and we will continue to do so. We are not looking for confrontation but we do not evade it either. Similarly to other constitutional states we are going to make use of all legal means to fight the activity aimed at overthrowing and destablishing the system,' said, among other things, Gyorgy Fejti.

Session Concludes

LD1407164088 Budapest MTI in English 1411 GMT 14 Jul 88

["HSWP Session Ends"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session on July 13-14. The Central Committee discussed a report on the development of the national economy early this year, and approved a proposal for the main directions of development in 1989. The Central Committee discussed the main principles of the regulation of the rights of assembly and association, approved of a list of the scope of the authority in the Central Committee and the Political Committee, and decided on personnel issues.

Berecz Holds News Conference

LD1407193288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 14 Jul 88

[News conference by Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, following the 14 July MSZMP Central Committee session—place not given, recorded]

[Text] [Berecz] Last night we reviewed the lessons from the Central Committee's first day of work, and now I can start with an interesting, special point, as the Central Committee adopted a resolution on 23 June about the openness in its work. The first test of this openness came yesterday. Because implementation ultimately depends on the executive institutions, we asked the Central Committee members to watch the television broadcasts, read the press reports, and listen to the radio; if they have any comments or proposals, we want these in order to make corrections and polish. One suggestion was that we could cover the debate more, that there should be live broadcasts. As we said last night, we are ready for and open to everything. The other thing is that, in general, they were satisfied and every Central Committee member fully agrees that we should continue the openness, the provision of information, in this way.

Another thing I am happy to tell you about is that today the Central Committee accepted as head of the Central Committee bureau Comrade Laszlo Major, who has been, among other things, a journalist, a Central Committee worker, an Agitation and Propaganda Department worker, an employee of the International Department, and is an ambassador. He will be suitable; at last the Central Committee will have a spokesman, and thus this supplementary role, which had fallen to me, will be settled and Comrade Major will fulfill this task.

On the heart of the debate, another contributor to agenda point no. 1—the economic questions and the 1989 plans—came forward. So, five speakers contributed today. The main line was that primarily the 'A' variant was also considered necessary. In the voting the Central Committee accepted that its previous idea, under which we would introduce beginning in January 1989 a new system of pensions, cannot be fulfilled. We have no power or means to do this, so the Central Committee relieved the institutions of these obligations. This will occur at a later stage, but the Central Committee will request a report on whether it wants to modify the principles and practice, too.

On the other issue—that we should favor the 'A' variant, but that the 'B' variant should also be worked out—well, here even three votes were cast in opposition. I spoke to them afterward, although the practice has not yet evolved among us of having to justify votes, as is sometimes normal. Their view was that during the voting it should have been emphasized that a third variant could possibly have been considered along with the two others. In other words, they did not take exception to either of the two, but they took exception to the fact that a third variant could have been submitted. I would say here, in midstream so to speak, that it was also raised that the Central Committee should also have an order of business, a prepared rule. It may happen that after a speech on a small, specific issue a sudden and fast-paced debate could develop. We should not need to focus on such issues. So the possibility should exist for somebody to ask to speak with the intention of obtaining information; then, within a limited time—let us say 5 minutes—the contribution on the issue should be clarified. This would further enliven the Central Committee's work.

I consider to be extraordinarily important the proposal to set down in law the right of association and assembly. In this respect, very strong, interesting, and important opinions were voiced regarding the disposition of the principle.

It was said that this should be expressed in processions as well. Someone added: Let us call them demonstrations. Well, we think it is a procession in favor of something and a demonstration against something. The expression is quite secondary; the essence is that the citizens' views should be capable of expression not just in elections but also through other methods, and that there should be legal frameworks for this, though naturally with the total interests of society taken into consideration. These things—the public order, public morals, public health, and so on—must not be harmed. In this way these things can come about and we have discussed them.

The third thing we discussed was the scope of authority relating to cadres. Well, here the Central Committee has reduced the number of functions in which it wishes to have a say by adopting a preliminary position, by making a proposal itself, or perhaps by exercising its veto if it regards someone as unsuitable, to a third of the previous figure: 435.

Finally, among the various matters I attribute great importance to the fact that the Central Committee members heard the report on Comrade Grosz's talks in Moscow with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders; in its communique the Central Committee adopts a stance that evaluates this as a meeting of great significance for us. It was very important to us because the two party conferences were in agreement on most important issues. Our ideas on international issues, particularly on Europe, are completely identical. We have similar ideas on socialism: one speaker said the time has come, though, to think about the criteria and requirements of socialism; we will concern ourselves with this, and it is very important that our thoughts on this move in the same direction as those of the CPSU. It is also extremely important that questions of further development were discussed, looking at both the problems and advantages in Hungarian-Soviet relations. The Central Committee has warmly welcomed this.

[NEPSZABADSAG reporter] NEPSZABADSAG. In discussing the principles of the draft law on assembly and association, Gyorgy Fejti, the presenter of this point on the agenda, spoke about the one-party system. Does the Central Committee require some sort of legal guarantee in this respect?

[Berecz] The Central Committee supported the idea, both in the speeches and in its vote, that this right should guarantee the right to assembly and association within the one-party system, though one of the speakers did ask whether, if we decide this way—and we did decide this way—the legal framework of party functioning should not also be taken into consideration later on. However, I would imagine the Constitution Committee will take this into consideration.

[NEPSZABADSAG reporter] If you will permit me to ask another question. It was also said in connection with this draft law that it would be submitted to a social debate. What will the extent, the width of this debate be?

[Berecz] I think we must not over-burden society with debates; and since the further development and extension of the law on elections can expect a wider interest and this debate will also come up now, I think this latter will be a wider debate; and on the former question the response will come primarily from the professional and politically more active and more interested circles.

[Unidentified reporter] On the other hand, it is perhaps a little surprising that the submission on economic issues was not recommended for social debate, precisely because it is not sufficiently worked out. Yet that is something that affects everyone.

[Berecz] Look, the economic questions now give society new burdens. Thus, to submit this to a vote or to a debate when it is quite clear that it is emotionally unpleasant, negative, and when it could also be said that in many respects people are against it—no, on the economic issues we are obliged to adopt our position based on calculations, based on objective factors. We must ask the people to understand it and, to the extent they can, support it; we should not ask them to interfere and say no, because if they say no, then we go bankrupt.

[Domany] Andras Domany of Hungarian Radio. The submission on the law on assembly and association said that the organizations that were recently founded can also be registered if their functioning does not clash with the law, with the Constitution. This obviously applies to such organizations—although they were not mentioned here—as the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers. How will they stand now, generally speaking? In the past there were a few organizations whose status was uncertain precisely because of a loophole in the law. How is their situation to be evaluated following the stand taken today?

[Berecz] I would say that in the coming period we will proceed according to two rules, until the time that the National Assembly codifies the proposals. One of these is that we ask for mutual patience, both on their part and ours, understanding that the gap in the law must not be abused, since that could cause social tension, possibly conflicts and clashes. The other one is that until the National Assembly codifies this law we will proceed according to our former practice. Therefore, there are some things we tolerate; there are some things we tolerate and there are some things we support. There are also some things we do not allow and whose activity we strive to curb if these infringe upon our existing laws.

In my opinion, the one you mentioned, the Democratic Trade Union—or Association—of Scientific Workers: We have no reason not to tolerate it, or possibly not to support it. This is always a concrete question.

[Domany] I have another question: Apart from the appointment of Laszlo Major, were there any other personnel matters you could brief us on?

[Berecz] Well, the others are connected with earlier decisions. Comrade Istvan Huszar was elected general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, as we know; and it is difficult to imagine him continuing to direct the Party History Institute. The Central Committee has appointed Dr Sandor Balogh, Doctor of History, as its director. Since the Central Committee has appointed Laszlo Major to head the Central Committee Bureau, this also means that Comrade Miklos Ovari agreed to retire. If there are no other questions we say thank you very much, and we wish all of us good work for the next time as well.

'Full Text' of MSZMP Communique

LD1407212788 Budapest MTI in English 1935 GMT 14 Jul 88

["Communique on HSWP CC Session—Full Text"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in session on July 13-14, 1988 with Karoly Grosz in the chair. Besides the members of the Central Committee, the session was attended by the secretary of the Central Control Committee, the heads of departments at the Central Committee, the first secretaries of the county and county-rank party committees, and the secretaries of the Budapest party committee.

The Central Committee heard a report on Karoly Grosz's talks in Moscow on July 4-5.

The Central Committee discussed and approved

—A report on the experience in the development of the national economy early this year, and a proposal for the guidelines of next year's national economic plan and central budget, put forward by Miklos Nemeth,

—A proposal for the main principles of the legal regulation of the rights of assembly and association, put forward by Gyorgy Fejti,

—A proposal for modifying the list of the scopes of authorities in the Central Committee and the Political Committee, put forward by Janos Lukacs.

I.

1. The Central Committee noted with approval Karoly Grosz's report on his Moscow talks on July 4-5. It established that the working visit to the Soviet Union of the party's general secretary was an important event of Hungarian-Soviet relations. His cordial, friendly talks with CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev reconfirmed that the HSWP and the CPSU have assessed the trends in the international situation and the future of socialism identically. Both parties are making efforts to renew socialist society, develop democracy and promote advanced and efficient economic activities under their specific national conditions.

Mutual confidence and understanding provide a firm foundation for the multi-faceted development and modernization of Hungarian-Soviet relations, and the coordination of the two countries' interests. The Moscow talks reflected a mutual endeavour for facilitating the solution of topical economic and political tasks by developing cooperation.

In the talks the sides agreed in principle on the main directions of the development of economic, technical and scientific cooperation between the two countries. It is particularly important for Hungary that in the 1991-5 period the Soviet Union is prepared to supply the energy carriers and essential raw materials in the quantities specified in the current five-year plan, and it is ready to purchase up-to-date engineering goods. The sides also agreed on the necessity of making new initiatives in the interest of balancing Hungarian-Soviet financial relations.

2. The Central Committee assured of its support the ideas aimed at reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe and the Soviet proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw. It also supported the idea of withdrawing—with appropriate countermeasures—the U.S. F-16 bombers from Europe. All this coincides with the Hungarian endeavour for belonging to the first states, on the territory of which the armed forces and armaments are reduced. The Soviet proposal that the two military blocs should devise mechanisms for preventing accidental conflicts also complies with our national interests. Our foreign policy played an initiating role in these proposals and continues to take an active part in their elaboration and implementation.

II.

On the basis of economic experience gained early this year, the Central Committee established that the economic policy line of stabilization was marked out correctly. However, the economic processes are still contradictory. In the course of the year the Hungarian society, undertaking even sacrifices, made considerable efforts to tackle the tasks faced by the country. Favourable results were achieved in some important fields of the economy, first of all in non-ruble accounting exports and the foreign trade balance. It causes problems that the deficit of the central budget is higher than planned. In a move to ease the tensions, the government has taken a number of measures since the beginning of the year, but further measures are required to channel the processes in the required direction.

The accomplishment of the major economic policy targets of 1988 is of key importance for the implementation of the stabilization and advancement programme. The meeting of this year's major economic policy targets requires consistent control of the economy and determined behaviour of the administration.

According to the view of the Central Committee the economic situation which evolved by 1988 has its roots first of all in the economic processes and economic policy practice of previous years. In the advancement programme of July 1987 the need for a turn was unambigously formulated and its principle lines and economic policy characteristic were shaped and the experience obtained since then and the recognitions and decisions of the national party conference created the political possibilities of the turn.

The definition and implementation of tasks in the economic policy became pressing which serve the economic stabilization, create the conditions of the renewal in the economy and the society simultaneously. The accomplishment of the stabilization and the foundation work of the advancement are not tasks for one or two years but require a longer development period.

For reaching a turn which lays foundation for perspectives as well, society and the economy should be made more open, a socialist market economy established, the conditions of enterprises with development potential improved, the possibilities of foreign working capital for participation and helping technical development expanded, and the restrictions on accesss to production resources eased.

The Central Committee endorses that the economic policy ideas for the next year be developed by the administration according to the two alternatives, taking that alternative in the foreground which has as a major

trait the faster structural change and technical development, the more assertive opening to foreign markets, the expansion of the market means on a wider scale and the facing of the unavoidable tensions associated with all these. The alternatives to be elaborated—beside the strict control serving improved selectivity—require circumspect analysis and preparation for the exploration of the expected social effects and the creation of means for handling these effects.

The report on the result of the work should be submitted to the autumn session of the Central Committee.

III.

The Central Committee, reviewing the major principles of regulation of association and assembly, concluded: For the broadening of democracy and the production of the constitutional order it is justified that parliament creates laws on the right of association and assembly.

The Central Committee recommends that the laws should declare the constitutional freedom of the rights of association and assembly and define the legal framework of exercising them. It should declare that their exercise should not infringe the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic, its obligations stemming from international agreements, the security of the state, public order, public health and public morale and the rights and freedom of others.

The law should stipulate that, within the framework of exercising the right of assembly, peaceful meetings, rallies and demonstrations are permitted to be organized and the participants in these events are permitted to express their opinions freely. The different manifestations of the participants to the exercise of the right of assembly should not violate the stipulations of the law.

The law should stipulate the obligation of prior notification of meetings, assemblies and demonstrations in public areas and public buildings, it should also specify the events that are not subject to the obligation of prior notification. It is important to declare the right of going to court if an assembly is eventually banned.

The law on the right of association should define the concepts of social organization and association, and regulate the order of their foundation, recognition by the state, operation and winding up. It should declare that social organization and association can be established for any activity that is not prohibited by law.

The foundation and operation of societies that do not meet the criteria of social organizations or associations should not be subject to rules of foundation and registration by the state. It should make it possible, however, for the competent state organs to clarify the circumstances and take appropriate measures if the activity of a society shows the criteria of association or social organization.

The Central Committee asked the Council of Ministers to put the draft bills on the rights of assembly and association to a social debate in the organization of the Patriotic People's Front. Taking the experience of this debate into account, the Council of Ministers should present the bills to parliament, if possible, yet this year.

IV.

In compliance with the policy statement of the national party conference, the Central Committee decided on the range of party, state, social and economic posts which are under the authority of the central party organs. Their number was reduced from 1,241 to 435.

The starting point of the Central Committee was that only the posts of particular political importance, and first of all the top-level ones, should belong to the authority of the party organs—including the central bodies, asserting the principle that decisions on filling the posts should be made by those and there who and where [as received] are mostly familiar with the cadres and who are authorized for that.

The party organs decide on personal matters which belong to their scope of election or appointment and take preliminary stance on those in which the election or appointment is the task of other organs.

XXX.

The Central Committee decided on personal [as received] matters in its own sphere of authority:

—Milos Ovari, head of the Central Committee Office, was relieved from duties because of retirement, with recognition of merits,

—Laszlo Major, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Uruguay, was appointed as head of the Central Committee Office,

—Istvan Huszar, director of the CC Institute for Party History, was relieved from duties because he had been elected general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front,

—Sandor Balogh, professor of the Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, was appointed as director of the CC Institute for Party History.

Council of Ministers on Statutes, Immigrants

LD1407230488 Budapest MTI
in English 1838 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—The spokesman of the government revealed the following information on the session of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers approved new statutes.

The government made a law decree on the role and authority of the minister of state. The Council of Ministers regulated issues related to the employment of leading council public servants.

The government created, under the supervision of the minister of trade, as a new state administrative body with nationwide authority, the national trade and market inspectorate as a legal successor to the national trade chief-inspectorate.

The Council of Ministers approved the decision of the planned economy commission on the modernization of the fee-system of the child-institutions and the programme of phasing out company subsidies.

At the press conference following the session of the Council of Ministers Rezso Banyasz said, among others, that the new statutes more precisely define the way of conduct with the state authorities and representative bodies. It regulates the possibilities of the joint work with social organizations and bargaining bodies. According to the constitutional principles it increases the authority of the chairman of the Council of Ministers in the organization and control of the work of the council and at the same time it eliminates the previous and frequently formal sphere of authority of the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers related to the organizational supervision, ie. the deputy chairmen supervise not any longer directly ministers and ministries. Another novelty is that in extraordinary cases he may ask for the written or phoned opinion of the members on issues which are subject to voting. The corporate decisions are taken by voting at the Council of Ministers and in case of equal votes the prime minister decides.

The law decree tightens the rules on coordinating reports and reviews submitted to the government in order to make them more sound and understandable. At the same time coordination is not an aim to be reached at any rate, since the reports reflecting several approaches could better reveal the core of the problems. The new statutes are expected to remain in force for two years since after approving the new Constitution the work of the government should be adopted to the Constitution.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers is replaced by Peter Medgyessy during his coming ten days visit to the US and Canada. The general rule says that in the absence of the prime minister the session of the Council of Ministers is chaired by his deputy or his appointee. The appointed person has the same rights and authorities as the prime minister.

Rezso Banyasz emphasized that the new statutes of the government finds it necessary that the general secretary of the National Council of the Trade Unions be present at each session of the government to represent the opinions and occasional differing views of the organized workforce. This was already done at the meeting of yesterday—he added—when the general secretary of the trade unions, along with some government members, actively participated in the debate on access to housing which was one of the points on the agenda.

The government shares the view that the activities of social and bargaining organizations, including the trade unions which has the highest prestige, should be institutionalized under an appropriate framework. The spokesman expressed his conviction that the government is not against the idea of making a trade union law. It was found also natural that the trade unions in meeting their tasks want to use the classical means of argument of the organized workers. At the same time it is clear for anyone that this time the efficient and better work could promote the progress of the country and not unconsidered actions.

On the 44th session of the CMEA which was held last week in Prague the spokesman emphasized the importance of the change in approach. The most important thing is the recognition—he said—that amending the system of cooperation is not enough but it should be basically changed. Appropriate conditions has to be created for making possible direct company contacts. On Hungarian side it is considered conceivable that the partial exchange of the transferable rouble could be accomplished in the next year. At the meeting the complex programme of the member states into 2000 was analyzed. For the successful accomplishment of the programme—emphasized the Hungarian stance Rezso Banyasz—the appropriate organizational conditions should be created and the incentive forms of financial interests should be found.

Responding to a quesiton on emigrees, dissidents and the number of people seeking residence in Hungary Rezso Banyasz said that due to the new passport law the common term "dissident" (emigre) was cleared from the public vocabulary. Regarding emigration, in the first 6 months 652 applications were submitted for emigration including 144 appliactions for socialist countries and 508 for other ones. At the same time the number of immigration applications was 3,391 and only 92 was turned down by the authorities. This, however, does not mean that all with approved applications were already residing in Hungary. Since out of the 2,606 Hungarians of Transylvania who want to immigrate only 287 received approval from the Romanian authorities. In the first six months another 6,178 Romanian citizens staying in Hungary submitted residence permit applications. From non-socialist countries 117 applications were submitted and only 2 were turned down.

Csehak Addresses Workers Meeting in Csepel

AU3006064488 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Jun 88 p 6

[Report signed 'CS.N.L.': "Small Communities Are Also Needed in Social Policy—Judit Csehak Addresses Workers Forum in Csepel"]

[Text] The PPF National Secretariat organized a debate on topical social policy issues on 21 June. Also present at

the central workers' forum in Csepel was Jozsef Garamvolgyi, secretary of the PPF National Secretariat. The guest of the forum, Health and Social Affairs Minister Judit Csehak, stepped down from the presidium podium, saying that this is not false informality on the part of a politician but, since there is not enough money, the government needs a dialogue with the people and we can already share ideas. Much more is at issue here, namely, the fact that the government members do not want to give a lecture but to hold an exchange of views with the citizens. The following recognition has gained ground in both society and politics since 1980: There is no social welfare system which is so good that the state is able to implement the system on its own. In this area we have a lot to compensate for, because in 1950, in the framework of a really great revolutionary illusion, we thought that there would really be no need for a trade union or an official social policy to defend the citizens' interests in a society in which all citizens are equal and have identical opportunities for work and prosperity.

Judit Csehak then said the following: "Therefore, we have not dealt with social policy issues scientifically and officially for a long time. This does not mean that our social policy has not developed, but this has led to the present situation in which we have the medium-developed social policy of a medium-developed country, a social policy system that we did not develop with a certain perspective. However, without the results achieved, we would now be unable to think of creating a modern strategy and of further developing the pension system. Our present problems derive partly from the fact that we did not deal with this issue at a proper level in the past, and partly from the fact that we did not allocate enough funds for the purpose of assisting the needy. Our major problem today is perhaps the fact that we carry out our current social policy tasks in an obsolete social policy framework. We are unable to preserve the real value of pensions and of social allowances. Therefore, poverty and waste go hand in hand in our social policy. We think mostly in general terms, in order to be able to provide average assistance to many people and, at the same time, we often do not find proper solutions for special cases. However, the need to reach citizens who are really in need is the basic issue behind modernizing our social policy. Therefore, we support the establishment of various associations and small communities so that these themselves will be able to point out the people in need in accordance with their own evaluation. A modern social policy inevitably requires the functioning of small communities—including church communities—and this can provide guarantees for proper representation of interests and for a just distribution."

Answering questions, Judit Csehak said, among other things, the following: "Our task in the near future will be to see to it that the employers are interested in creating work conditions which will enable jobs that are detrimental to health to be eliminated, rather than increasing the number of jobs with an early retirement age. Our long-term goal is to create equal opportunities for people with disadvantages.

"In modernizing our pension system, we should think of ways to guarantee the secure existence of people who live alone. Another important task ahead of us is to provide differentiated support for the purchase of various drugs. We should review the topical issues of rehabilitation as soon as possible, and we should make the enterprises interested in employing handicapped workers, and reexamine the entire practice of handicapped retirement, which is now serving only momentary interests."

Reportage on Gorbachev Official Visit 14 Jul

Speech at Warsaw Castle

LD1407104188 Warsaw Televison Service in Polish 0840 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at meeting with cultural representatives in Warsaw castle—live; in Russian with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] Our program, the program of the visit, has led us to this meeting, and I would like to voice my satisfaction with the fact that I see here representatives of our science, culture, and art who have found themselves here at the same time. I think that they will join us in our rejoicing at this meeting. We are sincerely pleased. I say this not because I want to please you, the representatives of Polish culture, but I would just like to state one very important thought that has already become dominant. I see the writer Chingiz Aytmatov. He will help me recall that when he invited himself to a meeting of numerous representatives of figures of world culture—the so-called forum of world culture—I conversed with those taking part in that forum.

We all came to one conclusion: The world finds itself at a watershed stage of its development. This pertains not merely to our countries; it pertains to the whole world. If someone imagined something different—that this watershed stage has nothing to do with him—it would be dishonest of him, since this would fail to correspond to reality. Our entire civilization is currently going through a crucial stage of its development. It can be said that the construction, the whole, extraordinarily complex construction that encompasses our present civilization's material and spiritual spheres alike, is indeed being put to the test of time. I am thinking here of the imperatives connected with the nuclear threat, the threat of annihilation of our civilization. I am thinking of these ties, which we now have in every part of the world, and this requires greater responsibility of everyone. I am thinking of the ecological threat and other global problems.

Then I noted that we were at a special stage in the development of civilization. The scientists and the writers shared my view, and we said that today you cannot escape politics: If there is a state, there is politics. Policies are implemented in various ways, right or wrong, but, all in all, politics exists. We can never get away from the fact. There is state politics, there is the politics of international relations. If today, at this crucial stage in the development of our history, politics is not enriched by scientific and moral knowledge—and for this we require the participation of all people's intellectual forces—then politics will be condemned to very serious vacillations and error. Nothing is as expensive and people do not pay as much for anything as political errors.

We find many facts in both Poland and the USSR that bear out what I said. In connection with this I think—and Comrade Jaruzelski feels the same—people who have been entrusted with a great deal, a great responsibility rests with them and we are aware of this and we do not shirk this responsibility. I think that Comrade Jaruzelski and I are taking part in this meeting because the very fact of this meeting and the fact that you have come with us to this hall—and I was told, you know, that this hall was opened recently, Professor Geysztor told me this—and that we are opening this hall with this meeting, and this is magnificent. The fact that we are here together with you, we can reflect on our times, how we live in our countries, what we do, how we regard the future, and what conclusions we draw from this, so as to be armed for the future. This is what my approach to this meeting is, and I would like, on my own behalf, on behalf of the delegation, and on behalf of Raisa Maksimovna to greet you cordially, to greet Professor Suchodolski, who is in charge of this meeting, and all of you, the participants in the meeting. [applause]

It is very difficult, because I know we have little time and I would like to say a great deal. Will this succeed? I do not know. But what will be, will be. What I say will be sincere. This is what I would like to say, above all. The main part of the visit to Poland is behind us. At this meeting with the Polish intelligentsia, with those who represent the national spirit, who express the national spirit, the national interests, I would like to say that what is currently taking place in Poland impresses us greatly.

Poland is again searching, and I think it is finding an answer to the question of how the people are to proceed. It is a large European state, a state of great culture and history, complicated history, and a country that has quite a complex present situation. I think that last night, when we met farmers—it was in Szczecin voivodship—in a straightforward manner, as happens with the ordinary people who are the very salt of the earth of our countries, the following simple conversation produced the following reaction. When I was asked to describe in brief what we were doing in the Soviet Union and what objectives (?we were setting ourselves), I replied simply that we want all people, and especially the working people, to have a good life and to feel good in our socialist society, inasmuch as it is a system for the working people. This received such a reaction that I, prepared to supply further arguments, saw that this was unnecessary. That is the most important thing, that equally in Soviet society and socialist Poland people should feel good.

This, I think, is the greatest change we are accomplishing through restructuring and socialist renewal. We open up the deepest sense of this system, this social system, its essence; we are turning it around so that it is more receptive to the needs of mankind. It is the human dimension that ought to represent the main criterion of what has been accomplished. It so happens that through restructuring, through renewal, we move forward toward

humanizing our society. This is the most important thing, since all this carries over into all other areas of life. A person who feels good is capable of many things. Our people, who for many centuries have shown their love for their soil, of which we are proud, since the patriotism of the Russian people, the nations of the Soviet Union, and the Polish nation, are a valuable asset in themselves, of enormous significance. The combination of this love, these links of our people with the fatherland, with what we are opening up through the new possibilities, the manifestations of the national spirit, and people's aspirations can safeguard a great progress for us in the material, spiritual, and scientific spheres.

Well, if one is to speak of this and say what we have wanted since we began marching along the path of restructuring; then this is precisely what we want. It would seem that everything is simple. We all want this to be accomplished as speedily as possible. Maybe those upon whom the responsibility rests at present, the responsibility toward the people, the responsibility of the authorities—you all have the common desire that this should take place as soon as possible. It would seem that this is the greatest desire of each politician—that his intentions come to fruition, that he enters history as the one who was the executive in charge.

But we have to be realistic, since we are talking about the deepest, widest transformations. We are talking about [word indistinct] policies for which our people have suffered. After all, we know how we reached restructuring and renewal. Above all those who represent the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union and Poland know full well how difficult was the road that has allowed us to make such plans for the future. That is why we should have not merely a revolutionary attitude, but we should be firm in the implementation of what we have decided; we should try (?to cope with this) so as not to become deluded. We all know, and I say it once again, this is the greatest danger. That is why we are so carefully examining our past, with a mercilessly critical attitude and with truth. This is not easy. This calls for great courage. It sometimes seems as if that which we learn as a result of this approach is going to almost knock us off our course. On the basis of this (?impartial), truthful analysis we are seeking the truth. We are coming out of this without being weakened, because we have found major historical achievements—not just in the Soviet Union but also in Poland—and in spite of finding the tragic events in our history that tell very strongly of the fate of the societies, states, intelligentsia, the fate of individuals.

In spite of all this it has been instructive. Perhaps it is a case of experience from the past making us wiser, stronger, more patient and tolerant. This arms us with new knowledge, and I must say that it strengthens our spirit. Men of weak spirit are not able to resolve problems facing them. So we have had a moral cure of the community; and without moral health we could not manage. Hence perestroyka [preceding word in russian] began with the decision to ask what kind of house we live in, what happened before, what is included in the house, and what is needed—a cosmetic overhaul, or a general overhaul? If a cosmetic overhaul in this case is insufficient, reconstruction [przebudowa] should be implemented in the material, moral, and spiritual spheres, in the sphere of culture.

Thanks to this we came to reconstruction [przebudowa], although we also had economic problems, and perhaps these forced us in the first stage to take care of the country—reconstruction [przebudowa]. But the essential objectives were the result of their intellectual and spiritual work, and perhaps never before have we had such close relations and deep understanding without intelligentsia.

These are difficult situations. These are not merely pleasant speeches. This is the closeness that gives birth to trust; this is the closeness that developed on the basis of recognizing the principles and goals for which we are striving. It is an understanding of this, that neither the politicians nor the cultural forces of a country can fail to join together now in the name of the nation's interests. This helped us, I think, to choose the road, and this road converges with the road of your socialist renewal; but openness, glasnost was necessary.

(?we accepted) the guidelines, that one of the lessons of the past tells us that more than one attempt was made, which resulted from the politicians' disquiet, the disquiet of generations, of other generations of our intelligentsia, but all those programs began at some stage and afterward disappeared. The spark flew but the bonfire didn't catch fire, and it did not lead to a conflagration, a conflagration in the good sense, because real conflagrations are not [word indistinct].

It did not succeed. Do you know why? Because we did not think; we (?thought up) the plans and tried to implement them without broad participation by both the intellectual forces and the people on whose behalf we supposedly wanted to do it. We counted on (?crossing a threshold, expressing people's interests better than) [words indistinct] And all that had to be put in its place; at the center of all the issues, of all plans, there is [word indistinct] and responsibility particularly for such nations as [word indistinct] whose activities, on the historical scale and not just individual activities, made them deserve to be reckoned with and deserve life in our states to be better and correspond to the interests of the people.

In this way we have come to glasnost, democracy. I tell you honestly, perhaps it is the greatest discovery by communists, who began their struggle in order to abolish exploitation, all injustices based on private property and exploitation, to liquidate the exploitation of man, to tear man away from the means of production, from the soil, from spiritual values, from political [word indistinct] this is the driving force of all revolutionaries; we started the October Revolution from that. We followed Lenin in

order to solve these problems; it appears that only now can we understand Lenin's appraoch because we wish to put man in his proper place in socialist community. In material processes to make him the master, and in political processes to make him the main [word indistinct]. And in spiritual affairs, because it is his country he cares that the moral health of the society is strong.

Perhaps it is bitter, but that is how it is. Most importantly, we stand firmly on the path, and we are determined to continue renewal because it is a general attitude in the Soviet community, although there are other attitudes—we will not try to gloss it over. The struggle continues, the struggle in the form of discussion and [word indistinct] political dialogue, by opposing positions. Shots are not being fired, but the struggle is serious, the struggle within the framework of socialist pluralism, outlooks.

All that characterizes our life today. It is still full of [word indistinct], but we have achieved new impulses of certainty and new proof in favor [word indistinct] about the support of the people for perestroyka [preceding word in Russian] at the 19th Party conference. It was an unprecedented conference, an unprecedented event. Practically no one among the people living in the Soviet Union remembers such a discussion at a party conference. Finally, we felt for the first time how much [word indistinct] had gathered in our nation, that (?it) was ready to say what (?it) has to say, to each other, to the government. This will require further thought. It was an unprecedented event; but the essence is the most important—that the nation supports perestroyka [preceding word in Russian] and decidedly at that. The most decided speech, based on healthy criticism directed at the CPSU Central Committee and other republican authorities—I look here to Comrade Sokolov; the ministerial authorities—I look here to Comrade Shevardnadze; and directed also at the intelligentsia—here I look to you, the scientists who made speeches [word indistinct]—I see here Comrade Academician Fedorov. He made a speech at that conference. The most decided speeches were made by representatives of the worker (?aktiv).

Many of us felt awkward; we felt that we were late in relation to the moods of society. We have to go more quickly, and that is the most important conclusion to be drawn from the conference. One issue bothers us: The discussion should be transformed into action, into realpolitik, into actual practice. That is why, at the conference, during it, we passed a resolution, that we would not wait for the congress, we would not wait for changes in the constitution; all that will happen, but now we agree that what has been worked out at the conference must be at the basis of the activities of the Central Committee, the government, and all workplaces. That is how that brief resolution arose. Now, without delay, we have scheduled a Central Committee plenum, which will be tackling these very issues.

We have noticed in Poland that you have the same concerns. I feel that we are following the same road even more confidently taking into consideration specific differences, which is obvious and clear. It was a great error to ignore specific differences, at last the dispute about the model of socialism is at an end. It is scientific socialism, and it must be realized in concrete conditions of every state taking into consideration tradition, level of development, political culture, and the potential of each country. This is my view of the model of socialism.

Nevertheless, acting independently, following the chosen road, we feel how much we need each other, perhaps as never before. There are many interesting things, in conversation with Comrade Jaruzelski, and with other representatives of Poland, during meetings with people, we found many things useful for us now when we are resolving new problems, and we will implement them after the conference [as heard].

I hope that our experience will be useful for you to some degree; perhaps it will inspire thinking, and this is very important. Hence, in the second part I would like to say that perhaps now great chances are opening up for the forging of new relations between our peoples. I also know the feeling of your people; I sensed the feeling of the Poles, and I know the feeling of our people. We wish to meet each other half way with open hearts, and I would like to say that I myself and all my comrades did not expect such an opening.

There is an interest here, whose foundation creates a kind of movement of (?hearts). A man can be [words indistinct] you can ask him to come; you can ask him to say something—he will even come and say something, respecting his leadership, hospitality, and so on. But a man's face cannot be changed, the expression in his eyes, his mood, which always shows. When the process of accord is taking place—by accord we understood in fact that movement of the Poles, and perhaps that is what is most important—which is beginning now to characterize our relations. Before that, those relations were on the level of parties, governments, republics; now it is a movement of our nations toward one another.

Perhaps we will remain in these positions, which have always characterized by a great attachment to one's nation and loyalty and a desire to serve that nation. If there is such a [word indistinct], such intentions, such strivings, then the task for our policy is to promote it. I think that it is essential, important from the viewpoint of what affects two socialist states, neighboring states; we are speaking here about states linked by a common history, a past; and we cannot imagine a future other than living in friendship, fraternally, with Poland and jointly resolving the problems that our times present us with. I invite you, dear friends, Poles, representatives of the Polish intelligentsia; I invite our comrades, the Soviet intelligentsia: Help our nations, help implement

the goals, the great goals, the humanitarian goals which we have formulated, having proposed perestroyka [preceding word in Russian] to the Soviet people and socialist renewal in Poland.

I would like only to repeat what I have told the young people: There are trains—and here I am recalling Comrade Jaruzelski's expression—which one must not miss. Equally, we must make sure that the intelligentsia does not remain outside this train of restructuring and renewal. That would mean no lesser losses than in the case of the young people and perhaps even greater ones, since the way young people act depends to a great extent on you, on your actions. In our common history this is a time of very great actions, very important actions, and I am not afraid of exaggerating here, since we are talking about our fates. Thank you. [applause]

Attends Cultural Meeting

LD1407165788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1035 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Second speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at meeting with cultural representatives in Warsaw castle—live, in Russian with superimposed Polish translation;]

[Text] I am prepared to accept that proposal [to cut short the discussion for lack of time]. Indeed, at the meeting here we have discovered what we are facing at the present time. We have many shortages, but the greatest shortage is of time. I regret that in drawing up the program we did not foresee this; and that ia a lesson for the future. I very highly value the possibilities of this meeting and even what has happened here. With such a tight schedule for the meeting, what we have heard here is exceptionally interesting. It is certainly always intersting to take part—or in any case to witness—when contact is acccompanied by an exchange of ideas. I would say that in this room there were (?many) differences of opinion. I know that when one speaks of people who think differently in our country, one wonders if (?this shouldn't be finished); but after all thinking differently is simply thinking in a different way. And having different ideas when considering great problems, great issues, serious questions, new questions, will always (?go on), because (?those) discussions examine phenomena, assessments, and this is always linked with [words indistinct], with the intellectual activity of specific people. And different ideas, if they are not political speculation—and this is included in that concept too, and should be recalled—different ideas and different [word indistinct] are the driving-force of spiritual and scientific-technical advance.

It was very interesting and important for me to witness here, even in the close framework of the meeting, the interesting exchange that took place in seeking solutions to those problems which jointly really concern us, and not only us. So I thank you for coming here with your interesting reflections. You spoke earnestly and with great interest.

I would just like to react to some statements which I heard here, first of all fears connected with restructuring. I will not mention names because I am afraid of mispronouncing them, but thoughts were voiced here, including fears that restructuring and renewal will only be participated in by intelligentsia and that only the intelligentsia will be concerned—I think that this was in reaction to my invitation and my request to the intelligentsia of both countries to participate at moments when the fates of nations are being decided. I think that I used the time given me here to that purpose, to emphasize this idea, because this is a duty of the intelligentsia of our nations, who are the most thoughtful part of every nation. Serving the nation increases one's responsibility, particularly at turning points, but it does not mean that in this restructuring process there will be no working class, working people, farmers, peasants—this is the most important—there are many participants.

Recently I reacted to a certain statement by one of our prominent economists who very pessimistically assessed the first results of perestoyka and radical economic reforms. I said: Esteemed academicians while we are [words indistinct] while you, among yourselves carry on such disputes, and now [words indistinct] nevertheless the country lives and is undergoing transformation.

And this is that most important voice—the voice of the nation, of the working people—backing our perestroyka, for we should never lose sight of the working people or the intelligentsia. This work is very important; it is linked to the work, to the labor of the peasants, the workers; it makes it possible to ennoble their work, to make their work more productive. This solves a great many things; but the living, decisive voice belongs to the people.

And I must say that however difficult the passage of many things—among them economic reforms—it turns out that, though in the past we solved our problems by introducing the (foreign policy factor) and we introduced a measure by which we expanded the sale of alcohol—which also served to fill our treasury—this was quiote different from what is happening from now on. Now national income is rising thanks to industry, thanks to agriculture, thanks to investment projects. The real, healthy economic process has begun; and today we are achieving a 5-to-6 percent growth in the economy. And this, this is done by the people, who are now included in new relations—and they will be included still further starting January of next year, when the whole economy will go over to the principles of self-accounting, to new methods of management.

Of course, that is why we wish—and we understand—that the most important passengers on the train of restructuring are the working people—the working class and the peasants.

And one more thought about the allusion which I often hear, in our country as well—this allusion was also voiced here. Of course, it is a good thing to hold a discussion; it is a good thing to do this here as well, but one has to work. Certainly, in the Soviet Union we have been involved in talks, yet one has to work. I understand this. There are also quite a few people here who voiced this thought. There is a healthy element, a healthy thought here; but we shall keep to openness and discussion, otherwise we shall not open up either the potential of the system nor the intellectual potential of our nation. We shall take care to do this even if it displeases some people, both in your country and in ours. This is my first answer.

Of course, you are right that one should—through the appropriate economic mechanisms and through political mechanisms—introduce the scientific and technological process into the restructuring program.

Everything is being restructured; that which effects restructuring—that is, structural changes—is in order to restructure our economic structure. And our most important aim is forcefully to put out science and engineering industry into motion. Great resources and investments have been directed toward this and it is our priority.

It seems to me that as far as numerous issues raised here are concerned, the idea that it is necessary to act with greater confidence and to act faster along the path of understanding history, our common history, in order to make sure that our peoples have firm historical knowledge at their disposal, was voiced here in many speeches; and it was appropriate so to do. It will help us solve our current and future tasks. I do not like to go into detail here, but we have had many conversations on this subject with Comrade Jaruzelski, and many members of the delegations also examined these issues—how to impart a new nature to this process, how to arrive at new appraisals, and also how to make use of literature, new sources of which are being put at the disposal of qualified experts of Poland and the Soviet Union.

I think we are on the right path, but there is too little satisfaction, and there is a desire for better results. For my part, I support this aspiration.

But here I have noted another interesting question: What is the opinion of the general secretary on the role of the intelligentsia in religion? I have been asked to say something about religion. I think that we will accept the suggestion of professor Suchodolski here, as it is a good idea, to publish this discussion, and that also make it possible for those who have not managed to speak today to say something. I will try to answer once again, in writing, quite simply the questions which were asked here. I think that in any case it was recorded on a tape recorder, and i will attempt not only to listen to it, but to read the text. That will be more interesting, and that could be that book, which will be a good agent for joint efforts in this intellectual field on the path of cooperation.

Thank you for the meeting. I see that the meeting was necessary for us and also for you. And I end the meeting in the spirit of even greater understanding [applause] [word indistinct] Thank you for (?your attention).

Meets Intellectuals

LD1407141588 Warsaw PAP in English
1300 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Shortly after 10 a.m. today Mikhail Gorbachev arrived at the Warsaw Royal Castle for a meeting with representatives of cultural and scientific milieus.

After touring royal chambers, Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski entered the ball room filled by about 300 Polish intellectuals and their guests—outstanding creators and scientists from the Soviet Union.

Many of those who came to the meeting are well known figures in the Soviet Union for a long-time now. The road towards the presentation of others' works in the Soviet Union was opened by perestroyka. This is true of the works by Jozef Szajna and Jerzy Duda-Gracz, Wladyslaw Hasior and Stanislaw Rozewicz, which in a short while will be presented in the Soviet Union. Many of the Polish creators and scientists are linked with their Soviet colleagues by ties of friendship which started during their studies in the Soviet Union. Such is the case with Marian Konieczny, Wieslaw Garbolinski and Jadwiga Stepien.

Well known in Poland are also Soviet intellectuals who are present at the meeting, including surgeon Fedor Nikolayevich and dancer Ulanova Sergeyevna. Among the Soviet guests are also those who were able to present their works in Poland thanks to the Polish renewal, for example film director Tengiz Abuladze, author of a film titled "Repentance."

Professor Jan Rychlewski, member-correspondent of the Polish Academy of sciences PAN, chairman of PAN committee for space research, opened the discussion saying: several days ago I was at Bajkonur where I watched the start of a space probe...

At this moment Gorbachev interrupted and said: That was "Phobos 2" launched towards Mars and as I was informed, Polish research equipment installed aboard the probe is working very well...

Professor Rychlawski continued: We watched the launching in international companion, which several years ago was unthinkable. I am of the opinion that for further development of science there is a need not only for financial means but also a need for making a sound although painful choice. We must decide on specialization, division of work among respective states.

Well-known Polish journalist, Parliament Deputy Ryszard Wojna recalled the slogan forwarded once by General de Gaulle of building a Europe of fatherlands. This slogan won a lively, warm and even cordial reception in Poland, Wojna said.

But this appeal thus far remains only in the sphere of sentiments because in order to construct a house one must first construct the foundations. You, Comrade General Secretary, wish to create such a foundation from such premises as material strength arising from peace and confidence as well as moral values. That is why, as far as constructing a common house of European countries goes, you will find fine architects and foremen in Poland, Wojna stressed.

In turn, Chynghiz Aytmatov said that he was strongly moved, just as other USSR intellectuals present at the meeting in the Royal Castle. "We live in a period rich in historical events, in the days of perestroyka," continued Aytmatov.

"You and us together have reached the category of an authentic socialist state in the intellectual sphere. No matter what sort of socialism it is, we should care for it. It should bring man happiness, and we want to toil just in the name of such socialism," concluded the writer.

Professor Rychlewski voiced gratitude to Mikhail Gorbachev for the decision to erect in Moscow a monument to victims of Stalinist reprisals, one of whom was Rychlewski's father.

Prof. Mieczyslaw Krapiec took the floor next. He stated, among other things, that the subject of human rights and democratic freedoms appeared in Polish thought from as early as the middle ages when Pawel Wlodkowicz at the Council in Constance pointed to the dispute with the Teutonic order about the sovereignty of states and nations.

This dispute cannot be limited, even in the name of Christian ideals. This also pertains to the individual, who is a subject and sovereign. This is how contemporary Christian thought assesses this, as expressed, among other things, in the words of John Paul II. The fact that Mikhail Gorbachev also presents these thoughts in a similar fashion, gives one hope, the professor stated.

"As a sociologist," said Prof. Szczepanski of Poland, "I would like to express my anxiety about the fate of perestroyka. I appreciate the role of intellectuals in the work of transforming reality, their importance in creation of programmes, supplying ideas and initiating discussions. But it would be very bad if the work of perestroyka stayed exclusively in the hands of intellectuals. Perestroyka without broad support of those who hold means of production in their hands would be one more delusive programme," Szczepanski concluded.

Polish writer Zbigniew Safjan stated: "one of the most important changes brought in by recent times is the change in language. We split with the magic language which creates 'wishful world' without any link with reality. Such spell-casting was for instance the belief that proclaiming friendship between our nations is to create such friendship immediately.

"There is no thing of greater importance to us than Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations. But anachronisms of thought do not disappear promptly: The past prejudices and stereotypes hold on, although there are no more reasons for them today. One of such anachronisms is the 'incomplete independence complex' created in Poland by Stalinism and its local variation," Safjan said.

"The joint commission of historians is at work. In my opinion, the time has come to tackle the problem of reflection in literature of the other country's image. Frankness and boldness of the Soviet literature of today still amazes as anew: Its new tones are the expression of new thinking—struggle for future," the writer concluded.

Polish Film Director Krzysztof Zanussi said: The cinema is the youngest field of art, the most contemporary mean of expression, reacting in the fastest way to that what is happening in reality. To become universal it needs freedom of creativeness, which was lacking. Soviet cinema is in a fortunate position now and will have a chance to become universal, to spring up in the European culture and to make a contribution to it. A similar task faces our culture, existing in the heart of Europe.

Prof. Maciej Nalecz of Poland: "I would like to assure Mr Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev that scientists highly appreciate his achievements in the fields of disarmament and strengthening mutual understanding in international politics.

Chairman of the Polish Writers' Union ZLP Wojciech Zukrowski said: Before the blank spots are filled by historians, they can be filled with books which exist but were not published due to an incomprehensible fear that they would harm socialism. If politicians do not do harm to socialism, than writers won't hurt it for sure. The problem lies with the publishers who want to print safe books, similar to those (we had so far).

The differences which exist between us enrich our friendship, said ZLP chairman.

Marcin Krol, Polish journalist and historian, emphasized that all the historians are overjoyed to be encouraged for further research on history of Poland, Russia and their mutual relations. Something is going on in this field, but it could go at a quicker pace. Brezhnev's doctrine and its implementation in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago is an important question for many people in Poland. How is it appraised today by a politician, not a historian, Krol asked.

Prof. Jerzy Adamski, also of Poland, stated that members of the National Council for Culture were positive that it was necessary to abandon the hitherto notion of culture applied in our social practice. Cultural policy should be a top-rank and wide-range activity in the modern world of high technology. The point is to build with the help of new technology a new civilization—humanistic, human, deeply moral.

Sergey Zalygin, a Soviet writer and editor-in-chief of the popular "NOVY MIR" monthly, pointed out that both countries were experiencing revolutionary moments at present.

The Soviet perestroyka is revolutionary, the socialist renewal in Poland is revolutionary, said Zalygin. In this context the Soviet writer stressed the role and place of man in the deep transformations taking place in both countries.

Prof. Janusz Kuczynski, a Polish philosopher, stated: "What you have written in your book about new thinking is of special importance for us.

"In this I see a comparison with the words uttered in 1946 by Albert Einstein who referred to the threat which the construction of the A-bomb brought about. You are proceeding further, you want to encompass with new thinking all that which determines and could determine crises in the development of civilization."

Prof. Kuczynski addressed Mikhail Gorbachev with a question whether he thought that one should firmly oppose the dogma about the domination of the superstructure over the base, and whether the Marxist concept of religion as "opium for the masses" should not be defined anew, and that one must proceed further in this respect than has been the case so far.

Next, the floor was taken by Polish journalist Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz, who stated that the reconstruction, of which our distinguished guest is a symbol, opens a chance for regaining by the left wing of the leadership in the intellectual progress of this century.

Polish Writer Artur Sandauer spoke of his doubts which stem from the fact that the entire idea of perestroyka refers itself to Leninism as the programmatic source.

Writer Janusz Przymanowski proposed to liberalize regulations on Polish-USSR border crossing in both directions.

At the end of the meeting of Gorbachev with representatives of scientific and cultural milieus of Poland and the USSR, Prof. Suchodolski informed the participants that the proceedings of the meeting will be published in book form, comprising statements by persons who did not take the floor due to lack of time.

On his part, Mikhail Gorbachev announced that he was also going to express in writing his attitude to the problems discussed. The book will be published in Russian and Polish.

Addresses Intellectuals

LD1507093988 Warsaw PAP in English 0121 GMT 15 Jul 88

["Gorbachev Addresses Intellectuals"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 14: I would like to begin with an expression of appreciation at the opportunity of such a meeting.

Our entire civilisation is passing through a very responsible stage in its development. The entire most sophisticated construction encompassing both the material and spiritual spheres of modern civilisation is really being put to test by our time. I have in mind the imperatives connected with the real danger of nuclear destruction. I have in mind the interconnection between various parts of the world. I have in mind the ecological threat and other global problems.

There exists a state and therefore there exists a policy. In short, policy exists, there is no escapting from it.

If policy is not enriched by scientific knowledge, is not nourished by morality—and this definitely presupposes the participation of the intellectual forces of nations and peoples—it is doomed to very serious vacillation and errors. And nothing costs so much, nothing costs the peoples more than political mistakes.

We were immensely impressed by what is taking place in modern Poland. It is again in a quest and, it seems to me, is finding the answer to the question: What road should this big European state with a big culture, a far from simple history and a far from simple present follow further?

The most important thing is that people feel well in Soviet society and in socialist Poland. And this can be achieved thanks to that principal turn which we are making through perestroyka in the Soviet Union, and through socialist renewal in Poland.

We are revealing the natural, profound meaning of the socialist system, of its very essence, and turning it towards the individual.

It is the human dimension, the human criterion that should be the chief criterion of the achievements of socialism and also of its failures. Through perestroyka, through renewal, we are advancing towards the humanisation of society. People who feel well are capable of much.

It is a natural desire of any politician that his activity be associated with successes and that he enter history riding a white horse, so to say.

But one has to be realistic: The point at issue are large, most profound changes, implementation of a policy that both our and your people have conceived in suffering.

We should be not only revolutionary and resolute in pursuing what we have conceived and outlined. We should remain on the ground of reality, we should keep away from illusion. The contrary would be the most dangerous thing. That is why we are thoroughly studying our own past with ruthless criticism and truth. This is not easy. This demands courage. Sometimes things that we learn bring us into a state when we seem to be unsettled. Nevertheless, we do not emerge the weaker out of the cruel but truthful analysis.

We (I mean both the Soviet Union and Poland) take note of great historic events, even though they took place along with tragic developments which also had a great effect on the entire process of socialist construction, on the destinies of people, on the fates of specific individuals and the intelligentsia. In brief, this is instructive work.

This perhaps is exactly that instance when lessons of the past make us stronger, wiser, more intelligent, more patient and tolerant.

A process of the recovery of the moral health of society is under way. Without moral health we will not cope with these tasks. In fact, perestroyka began when we decided to take stock of the house in which we are living, to find out what has happened to it, what is the condition of its foundation, its walls and of all those who are in it, and what the house needs—a facelifting or an annual overhaul.

It is precisely through this that we arrived at perestroika. We put in the centre of all deeds and plans the individual and our responsibility to him, to the peoples, the more so to such peoples as ours and yours which by their fate, their accomplishments, their deeds of a historic scope deserve that they be reckoned with. They really do deserve to have their life changed, to have a life that would be understandable to them and would accord with their vital interests. Thus we arrived at glasnost, at the understanding of the special value of democracy.

Man must be returned in full measure into socialist society, into material production, he must be made the master there, while in the political process he must be made the main character, just as in the spiritual sphere.

We have firmly embarked on the new road, we are fully resolved and the main mood in the society is similar. True, there are also other sentiments. I will not embellish the situation. A struggle is under way, a struggle in the form of discussions, political dialogues.

At the 19th party congress we got a new impulse of confidence and new evidence of popular support for our perestroyka.

We felt on Polish soil on these days that similar concerns worry you as well. Now I say with greater confidence: We are marching along the same road, with specifics taken into account, of course. This is natural and clear, it would be a great delusion to ignore specifics. In my view, the dispute of what should be the model of socialism is ending. There is scientific socialism, and its is being realised in the specific conditions of each country with due account for its traditions, developmental level, political culture, opportunities, and so on. This is my view of the problem of the "model."

Acting on our own, marching along the road we ourselves have chosen, we feel at the same time how we, two socialist countries, need each other. We need each other probably more than ever, we feel that. In discussions with Comrade Jaruzelski, in conversations with other Polish representatives and in meetings with people, we find many interesting and very useful things for ourselves, now that we are handling new tasks and will handle them after the conference. I hope that our experience may be of some use to you as well, or that it will at least encourage reflection, comparison—this is very important.

In the second part of my statement, I want to say the following. It is probably at this very moment that great opportunities are emerging for the establishment of new relations between our peoples. I know sentiments of the Soviet people, and on these days I felt the sentiments of the Poles—to move towards each other with all one's heart.

I will put it bluntly: Neither my comrades nor I expected the interest in us that we encountered here. The interest resting on the movement of hearts.

Through such contact we felt the high emotional fervor of the Poles and this might be the most important thing that now begins to characterise our relations. Earlier on, there had been relations at the level of parties, at the level of governments.

At present, this is a movement of the peoples towards each other. Let us recall the position that characterised the Russian, and Polish and Soviet intellectuals. They

always possessed great commitment to their people, loyalty to them and readiness to serve the people. If there is such an aspiration in both peoples, our task—in politics and in the intellectual sphere,—is to encourage it. I think that this is important also because the point at issue are two socialist states, neighbouring states, states and countries which have been linked by the common fate for centuries. In the future as well, we do not consider ourselves in any way other than living in friendship and brotherhood with the Polish people. And we want to handle together with the tasks put forward by the times.

Meets With Journalists

LD1407133888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1102 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Impromptu meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and unidentified journalists at Warsaw castle; Gorbachev in Russian with superimposed Polish translation—live]

[Text] [Announcer, interrupting classical music program] I am awfully sorry, ladies and gentlemen, but we have another meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and journalists in the Nowoposelska Room.

[Question] Well, we would not be journalists if we had failed to make use of an opportunity like this. I will not conceal the fact that it is with the cooperation of certain services that we have succeeded in finding ourselves here. Comrade Secretary, would you be kind enough to answer two or three journalists' questions?

[Gorbachev] I prefer two. [laughter]

[Question] This would not necessarily be for mass publication.

[Gorbachev] Three would be something of an accomplishment! [laughter]

[Question] Perhaps I will ask a question now. Let me first introduce myself. I am Podkowinski. I attended the Nuremberg Trial. I fought with the Soviet Army units. I entered Berlin. I have seen a bit of life indeed. My question is: I have been observing your visit in Poland. Let me put this visit in a different manner, as befits an old soldier. Previously, when the leaders of the Soviet Union came to Poland, they did not conduct a dialogue with us. You are the first Soviet leader to converse with the Polish nation wherever possible. This is a big thing, and we do feel it.

The second thing is this, and I wish to say it as befits a soldier. Yesterday you uttered a sentence which greatly impressed the Polish nation. Speaking of the joint struggle of Soviet soldiers and Polish soldiers defending peace and freedom, you made the following comparison: Stalingrad, Moscow, Lenino, Monte Cassino. The fact that you said Monte Cassino impressed Polish soldiers who had fought in the West and who had everywhere fought with you greatly. My question: Comrade General Secretary, did you sense this warmth among Polish society, when you were with us, following your speeches? I mean especially after these words.

[Gorbachev] I wish to say that our entire stay on Polish soil is accompanied by a kind of movement of soul of the Polish people and, after all, we do sense it. All of us are people who are alive, and you can then add to this the fact that we are a people with experience of communing with people and we know when an ordinary meeting or a rally is taking place and we know when it is a matter of just hospitality. This time it was much more than hospitality. This was a genuine upsurge of the soul. Naturally, this evoked the same response among us. Our people have this enormous desire for the relations with this old neighbor, old nation—all the more because our entire history had good moments. All our people hope that our relations will now reach new expanses and that they should acquire much wider dimensions, becoming more humane, so that they are good relations between people, neighbors. Such relations should obtain between fraternal, socialist nations. It is very important that we should be together, that we should exchange experiences. We did sense this desire on the part of Poles. Perhaps this is the greatest impression I will take with me from Poland.

[Question] Comrade General Secretary, you are a politician who enjoys a great popularity in the world. Are you not afraid that your popularity might some day evolve into a new personality cult (?just like it happened before you).

[Gorbachev] I think that we understand what a personality cult is, that it is a certain ideological system, a certain mode of power. It is a stagnation of dialogue and restriction of democracy. What we are doing is quite the opposite. We are building everything on a firm foundation. We are renewing society. We want the people to be the masters of their fate. We are setting in motion democratic mechanisms that will allow the people self-determination so that they can trust in various activists or remove that trust from them. It is precisely this, these mechanisms, that are going to prevent a rebirth of the personality cult. Management by decree can never be repeated. We are providing guarantees through democracy that the personality cult is not going to be reborn. After all, ours is a state of the working people. My constant contact with the people is not just some political game or an attempt to win popularity or get some appropriate reaction. I just see it as necessary to feel the mood and react with appropriate speed. As far as popularity goes, I see it as follows: I have to prove myself through my daily work, not through popularity generated by the press.

[Question] A question regarding young people [words indistinct] with Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Gorbachev] Indeed. I would like to tell you that for us the question of involving young people in restructuring and renewal is an essential issue because we will not be able to resolve today's tasks if young people remain on the sidelines of this process or participate in it only as observers. That is the most important thing. If we do not solve the task of involving young people in restructuring, we are not going to be able to achieve our objectives. And it is also a burden of responsibility which is going to rest on the shoulders of our young people. It was a priority matter in our discussions.

Polish-Soviet Plenary Talks Begin

LD1407154188 Warsaw PAP in English
1321 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Polish-Soviet plenary talks began here today, co-chaired by PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Taking part in the talks are members of delegations of both countries, composed of the retinue accompanying the Soviet leader on his Polish visit and from the Polish side—members of the PUWP leadership.

Plenary Talks End

LD1407153588 Warsaw PAP in English
1405 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—The plenary talks chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski wound up in the PUWP CC Central Committee building. A joint statement was signed.

'Abridged' Soviet-Polish Statement

LD1407165588 Warsaw PAP in English
1509 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev signed in Warsaw on July 14 a joint Polish-Soviet statement. Here is an abridged text:

The Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the highest interests of the two fraternal nations, by the striving for tighter cooperation for the cause of socialist renewal and restructuring, conscious of the importance of joint efforts for a world without nuclear weapons and violence, state that they are bent on consolidating the Polish-Soviet alliance, relations marked by mutual understanding, sincere friendship and all-round cooperation.

The political will voiced in this statement corresponds to and serves long-term goals outlined in programmatic documents of the 10th PUWP Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress. It is dictated by a breakthrough stage in the historical development of socialism, which should in full measure manifest and expand its creative potential and characteristic humanism. Poland and the Soviet Union have their due position in the world socialist system, which has entered the fifth decade of its existence as a powerful international formation and active factor of all-human civilization.

The whole system of political relations between Poland and the Soviet Union bases on principles of equal rights, co-responsibility, accountability before their own nations, independence and sovereign decision-making in matters of the development of the country.

The sides concordantly state that taking account of both individual and common interests, a kindly attitude towards friends and allies, respect for the experience of each country and each party are conducive to the effectiveness of their cooperation.

In the sphere of international politics, Poland and the Soviet Union are being guided by the principle of closely associating their initiatives with the jointly agreed line of the peaceful policy of socialist states.

In economic relations, it is the will of the sides to consistently abide by the principle of mutual advantages and mutual assistance. The sides agree that the exchange of experience in the field of building socialism and its common generalization has the central position in all of ideological cooperation.

The sides highly assess the importance and effectiveness of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Poland and the Soviet Union. The treaty bears a positive impact on the development of their cooperation, the strengthening of ties of friendship between the Polish and Soviet nations, ensures a reliable protection of their fruitful work, strengthens Poland's and the USSR's devotion to the policy of consolidating peace in the world.

The convergence of restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and the course of socialist renewal implemented in Poland is a factor of great political significance. The closeness of their goals and tasks makes it possible to raise mutual relations to a qualitatively higher level, boost them and increase effectiveness in all fields. The deepening and perfecting of Polish-Soviet relations is directly facilitated by mutual friendly interest in the partner's success, unconditional recognition of the objective character of national differences existing in every country and concrete historical conditions of socialist construction.

The sides highly appreciate mutual readiness for consultation is and will be carried out in the friendly atmosphere of equality and mutual confidence, which excludes claims of knowing the absolute truth. The only criterion of the value of all experiences can be exclusively the socio-political practice, real strengthening of the positions of socialism.

Polish-Soviet relations are based on the principle of full observance of the sovereign right of every state to independently determine the methods and forms of socialist construction, the pace of socio-political transformations as well as the approach to solving problems and overcoming contradictions.

Poland and the Soviet Union are determined to cooperate in the cause of materializing the concept of socialism in the Leninist sense of its humanistic nature.

The friendly cooperation between the PUWP and the CPSU, which of late is developing especially dynamically, contributes greatly to the strengthening of Polish-Soviet relations.

Of the utmost importance in this respect are the development and deepening of political relations, regular meetings and talks on the highest level, their openness and truly friendly character.

The PUWP and the CPSU speak in favour of expanding and enriching inter-party contacts in order to better make use of possibilities latent in them in the mutual interest. This, to a certain degree, also pertains to contacts between local party authorities.

The role of the highest representative bodies of authority: the Sejm of Poland and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, is growing.

The sides will pay constant attention to strengthening collaboration between the Council of Ministers of Poland and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in solving fundamental matters of Polish-Soviet cooperation, will strive to enhance the performance, matter-of-fact character and initiative of government bodies in the implementation of agreements reached between our states.

The sides stated with satisfaction that the new climate in mutual relations has contributed to the expansion of the socio-political basis of their cooperation, has permitted the active participation of Poland's United Peasant Party and the democratic party in Polish-Soviet contacts. The signing of the agreement on cooperation between the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON and the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies has become an important event in mutual relations.

The sides speak out for the development of contacts between trade union organizations in the conviction that trade unions constitute one of the key driving forces of socialist socio-economic reforms in society.

The broad social activities of the Polish-Soviet and Soviet-Polish friendship societies were stressed with appreciation. The need to continue searching for ways of expanding their activity and enriching the methods of their works was also stressed.

Boosting cooperation between republican, district, municipal and regional Soviets of working people's deputies with voivodship, municipal and rural people's councils and contacts between their executive bodies and councillors is a significant task.

The sides intend to consistently raise effectiveness of economic cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, treating it as an important factor contributing to solving tasks in the socio-economic development of both countries. During the realization of the long-range program of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR till the year 2000, of the long-term comprehensive program of Polish-Soviet cooperation in the field of scientific-technological progress, work will be continued on deepening specialization and co-production by means of the more intensive use of direct ties between enterprises and scientific-research centres, the formation of joint ventures and development of other progressive forms of cooperation. A long-lasting stimulus for the process of integration of both states' national economies will be the new concept of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR for a period of 15-20 years. It will become an integral component of the joint concept of the international socialist division of labour between states—members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance till the year 2005.

Intensified will be efforts for perfecting the mechanisms of economic cooperation in the conditions of the functioning of enterprises on self-financing bases, of their orientation towards full independence. At the same time it is necessary to use to a greater extent possibilities inherent in commodity-money relations, instruments of currency-financial and credit cooperation, and to reconstruct the organizational-legal regulations concerning cooperation.

Comprehensive assistance will be extended to expand and boost border trade and economic cooperation and transform the regions adjacent to the Polish-Soviet border into a zone of increased economic activity.

The reform and restructuring of economic mechanisms which are now being implemented in Poland and the Soviet Union, which are convergent in their assumptions and goals, offer concrete, real possibilities to move to a qualitatively new stage and level of bilateral economic relations. At the same time, one must more energetically overcome objective difficulties hampering cooperation, and fight against bureaucratism and conservatism sounding in the way of its development.

It was stated with satisfaction that Polish-Soviet cooperation is becoming ever more comprehensive, covers ever new areas, and enriches the practice of internationalist collaboration of socialist states. The Polish-Soviet declaration on cooperation in ideology, science and culture plays a special role in this respect.

The declaration has mapped out the main directions of the qualitative restructuring of cooperation in the field of superstructure. This favours deeper mutual understanding, greater mutual confidence and rapprochement between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

Both sides are of the opinion that significant progress was made in the field of cultural cooperation.

Cultural exchange is becoming less formal and establishing direct contacts between institutions, branches and creators is increasingly effective and concrete.

Polish-Soviet scientific cooperation has been expanded. It should be based on concrete plans, on a better utilization of the existing possibiltities for further intensifying cooperation between scientific-research institutes and universities which maintain direct contacts.

It was stated that the mass media of both sides portray the life of societies of Poland and the Soviet Union more broadly. Cooperation in this field should be further perfected to contribute to the creation of a realistic image of the country who is a partner, ally and friend.

The new climate in mutual relations, especially after the signing of the declaration, has permitted the tackling of difficult, complex problems of so-called "blank spots" associated with the history of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations.

Taking note of the progress in the works of the joint commission of historians set up by the sides, the sides stressed that it was necessary to accelerate the rate of research, to more deeply draw data from reliable sources, to examine all the aspects of the history of relations between our countries.

The rapprochement between the Polish and Soviet nations becomes the matter of millions of people. The engagement in this process of representatives of all classes and social strata, nationalities and ethnic groups, people of variious generations, professions and individual interests, enriches the spectrum of mutual sympathy and ties, creates a broader base and more lasting foundation of Polish-Soviet friendship.

The sides will contribute to expanding contacts between socio-political organizations, artists unions, men of science, education, cultural activists, mass media employees, and working crews in work establishments, and will create conditions conducive to the development of tourism. The new approach is evidenced by the dialogue which has been initiated between the church in Poland and the orthodox church in the Soviet Union, dialogue which is guided by ideals of peace and cooperation.

In order to provide the Polish-Soviet relations with a new, higher level, practical activities have been mapped out which aim at the development of broad contacts between people, perfecting non-visa personal exchange and customs regulations on travel by citizens of both countries and at facilitating animated, direct contacts for them.

A useful contribution to the consolidation of friendship between our peoples can be made by Soviet citizens of Polish origin who live in the USSR and Polish citizens of Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian origin.

This will be facilitated by the creation for the Polish Ethnic Group in the USSR of possibilities to organize cultural and educational associations and cultivate their native language and culture. A similar role is played by the social and cultural associations of Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians operating in Poland.

Tremendous, as never before, responsibility for the future of socialism rests with the young people.

The sides will be striving to make cooperation of young people the matter of entire society, to make it cover all spheres of socio-political, economic and spiritual life of our nations.

Poland and the USSR in their international policy base on the assumption that mankind has no other alternative than to start building a secure and stable world, free from nuclear weapons and any other mass destruction means, a world without wars and violence.

In spite of the complexity of the international situation there are grounds for stating that positive trends are gaining strength at present. The awareness is growing of the world's indivisibility, of the common fate of all nations. The ideas of new political thinking start to penetrate into practical policy and concrete actions.

The Soviet programme of the world free from nuclear arms, proclaimed in January, 1986, helped to break the deadlock in matters of disarmament. The first breakthrough has been accomplished in the direction of real nuclear disarmament—the Soviet-American treaty on elimination of medium and shorter range missiles has been signed, definite progress has been attained in the negotiations between the USSR and the USA on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments combined with observance of the Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty in the agreed period of time, strenuous struggle is continuing to ban chemical weapons and stop nuclear tests, in the final stage is the agreeing of the mandate of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. Obvious is the weight and great significance of the Geneva negotiations on political settlement of external aspects of the Afghan problem.

The sides are of the opinion that the process of disarmament should be given a continuous character, consistently growing and deepening, that it is necessary to use the advantageous possibilities to reach new frontiers in

this field. To make these desires of nations come true it is necessary to depart from obsolete stereotypes, from sticking to the image of an enemy, from the policy from position of strength.

Poland supports in full the USSR's effective policy aiming, in keeping with the programme of the CPSU's 27th Congress, to build lasting peace and security in the world. Poland highly evaluates the initiatives and the personal contribution of Mikhail Gorbachev into the realization of this policy, which enjoys sympathy and appreciation of the Polish people.

Poland and the USSR as parties to the Warsaw Treaty attach special importance to the quickest possible inauguration of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, coming out resolutely in favour of removing disproportions and assymetry existing in this area. They are ready for a realistic and constructive dialogue on the subject. It is necessary to act in such a direction as would guarantee that military potentials become reduced to the level indispensable for defence alone, and not for offensive actions.

The Soviet Union fully supports the Jaruzelski Plan, the Polish initiative concerning decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe. Its implementation would permit a lowering of the level of military confrontation between the two military-political alliances and would strengthen European security.

Poland expresses full support for the initiative of the Soviet Union on creating a centre for reducing the risk of war and preventing a sudden attack in Europe, in the conviction that this would contribute to a stabilization of the situation on the continent, to strengthening peace and security. Poland offers its territory for its headquarters if the states concerned express consent to this.

The sides will continue to consistently speak in favour of an expansion and deepening of the all-European process in all fields and in line with the principles and decisions of the Helsinki Final Act, striving to achieve a decisive turn for the better in relations between all European states. They will actively participate in the construction of a common European home, discerning in this a real possibility of ensuring, through a joint effort, material guarantees of the security of the whole continent and each country individually, solving all problems at the negotiating table, creating an economic mechanism lying in the interest of every and each country, undertaking collective efforts to protect the natural environment, contributing to the preservation and development of national cultural traditions, establishing cooperation in the humanitarian sphere.

Poland and the Soviet Union think that absolute respect by all states of the territorial-political reality shaped as a result of World War Two and the postwar development is the necessary condition of preserving lasting peace and security in Europe. This at the same time constitutes the necessary premise for developing the all-European process based on confidence, peaceful cooperation, disarmament and common security. All attempts on this reality, on inviolability of the existing borders, including the one on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers, encountered and continue to encounter the most firm rejection.

In developing and perfecting the allied relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, the sides will contribute to strengthening the unity and cohesion of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, collaborating closely on international issues, jointly waging struggle for disarmament, for a more secure world.

Poland and the Soviet Union, the PUWP and the CPSU express a decisive will to actively collaborate in the set direction and cooperate with all other states, political parties and social organizations for the sake of eliminating the threat which looms over mankind, for the sake of preserving civilization.

Wreath Laid at Warsaw Citadel

LD1407172188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Excerpts] On the 4th day of his official friendship visit to Poland, Mikhail Gorbachev is again in Warsaw today. [passage omitted]

At 1640 Mikhail Gorbachev laid a wreath of red carnations at the Execution Gate of the Warsaw Citadel, the place of martyrdom of several generations of patriots and revolutionaries. After the ceremony, as in many other places during the visit, the Soviet leader spoke to the citizens of Warsaw.

Earlier, on the way to his residence [as heard], to the Warsaw Citadel, Mikhail Gorbachev stopped on Ujazdowskie Avenue next to Lazienki Park and looked at the Fryderych Chopin Memorial.

Summary of 4th Day of Visit

LD1507084888 Warsaw PAP in English 0014 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—The first event of the fourth day of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland was a meeting with intellectuals at the Warsaw Royal Castle. The meeting, planned to last two hours and extended to three and a half hours, was not only a very important political and cultural event but also a significant fact in mutual relations of our nations. It confirmed the importance that Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev attach to intellectual and spiritual values in the processes of the reconstruction of activity and thinking.

Apart from Polish creators of science and culture, the meeting was attended by a group of their outstanding Soviet colleagues. A dozen or so minutes past ten, at the courtyard of the Royal Castle Mikhail Gorbachev and

Wojciech Jaruzelski with their wives were welcomed by head of the National Council of Culture Professor Bohdan Suchodolski and host of the Royal Castle Professor Aleksander Gieysztor.

The guests went to the ballroom visiting on their way royal chambers and beijing briefed on the reconstruction of the castle. Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski, greeted with applause, took seats next to Bohdan Suchodolski, the host of this exceptional—as he said later—meeting. Its uniqueness was not only in the fact that it constituted an opportunity to hear the opinion of the most competent personality on what is going on in the Soviet Union, on the goals of the giant process of perestroyka but also that it created an occasion for a common discussion of people representing different fields of creative work, different viewpoints and schools of political thinking, and that it can be attended by Marxists and Catholics.

If one should seek a common threat of this multilateral discussion, this was the concern over the future of mankind, the shape of the world and its part—the common European house, over the fate and success of the Soviet perestroyka and the Polish renewal.

At the conclusion, according to the tradition of the meetings at the Royal Castle, Professor Suchodolski presented Mikhail Gorbachev with a statuette "a leaf—the symbol of the castle meetings". He said that the course of the meeting would be issued by the National Council of Culture in a form of a special publication.

On behalf of the Soviet nation, Mikhail Gorbachev offered a valuable gift for the Royal Castle—the gilded bronze clock with a figure of Orpheus in front of Eurydice's cinerary urn. This is a precious work of the Petersburg bronzing from the first half of the 19th century.

From the ball-room the guests moved into the adjacent antechamber where Mikhail Gorbachev signed the visitor's book of the Royal Castle.

Despite the delay in the visit's programme, an unscheduled meeting with a group of Polish journalists took place after the tour of the remaining castle rooms had been accomplished. Chairman of the main board of the SD PRL Association of Polish Journalists, editor-in-chief of the "PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY" weekly Artur Howzan asked Mikhail Gorbachev for a reply to 3 questions. One of these questions came from a journalist of the "PRAWO AND ZYCIE" weekly:

You are an extremely popular politician. Aren't you afraid that this popularity may some day change into a new personality cult. How can one protect oneself against flattery which always surrounds rulers.

—Everything we are doing at present contradicts this. We want to create a transformed socialist society basing on the principles of openness, a democracy in which the main role will be played by the nation certain of its fate, where democratic mechanisms and law forming its foundation would give the nation the possibility of directing its fate, will create the possibility of expressing trust or mistrust vis-a-vis these or other activists. That is why everything we are doing, the leadership and our party iogether with the nation, is precisely that which will never allow the return of, not only, the personality cult but also of phenomena which used to accompany it—the command and distribution methods of administration, bureaucracy. We hope that owing to democracy, through participation of the nation, we will deal a blow to bureaucracy. I am convinced that this is the right road, that this is the way which human relations should be built in the socialist state, which is the working people's state. Permanent contact with people is not a mere political game or an attempt to win proper reaction. I see the need to handle matters in a manner allowing to feel the moods, to test decisions in practice and correct them on time. As for popularity, I see it most simply. One has to prove in his daily work that this popularity has the backing in the nation and has not been organized by ourselves.

Polish-Soviet plenary talks were held on Thursday under the chairmanship of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Taking part in the talks were, on the Soviet side, members of the official delegation accompanying the Soviet leader during his visit to Poland, and, on the Polish side, members of the PUWP leadership.

After the conclusion of the plenary talks Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski signed a "Joint Polish-Soviet Statement."

The talks focused on problems which have to be settled now and not be put off until some later date. This regards, in the first place, such questions like development of diversified contacts between the societies of the Soviet Union and Poland.

The CPSU CC general secretary evaluated highly the present state of Polish-Soviet relations finding them more than satisfactory.

Asked by newsmen about his Polish impressions the Soviet leader emphasized that the present-day Poland built with the hands of Polish people has attained in the socialist system, after a long historical road, successes both in the development of her statehood, in the national sense, as well as her economy and culture.

I found Poland, he said, a modern state. All this, however, does not obscure problems and tasks that are facing us. We are at a very responsible phase of historical

development. It has been my impression during this visit that we are meeting ourselves half-way. This serves consolidation of our friendship and cooperation, this brings us closer together and is a great encouragement.

Wojciech Jaruzelski evaluated the visit as a historical one, stressing that it elevated mutual cooperation onto a very high level. The visit had both political and emotional aspect, he said. It showed the Polish nation's solidarity with the process of restructuring in the USSR. It showed that we are proceeding along the same road, being guided by the course of transformations. The character of this visit was determined, to a significant degree, by Mikhail Gorbachev's personality, by his attitude to the people. This has brought our societies closer together. It is our task now to continue and develop this process and utilize this capital.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, next, said that the signed document constituted both a synthesis of problems discussed during the visit as well as reflected the most general intensions of Poland's and the USSR's policy. Policy pursued at a special time, when, it can be said, the fates of the world are being decided.

We can feel satisfaction, Wojciech Jaruzelski continued, that it took place directly after the conclusion of the weighty conference in the Soviet Union and after the Moscow summit. Thus, we have obtained the first hand information on many issues and join in fully this historical process. I think that the starting session of the Political Consultative Committee of states parties to the Warsaw Treaty will use our conclusions and our work of the past few days.

The next item on today's itinerary of the Soviet leader's visit to Warsaw was the Lazienki Park and the monument to Frederic Chopin therein.

Next, the guest proceeded to another historical site, that is to the Warsaw Citadel, where not only Polish but also Russian revolutionaries, heroes of struggles for social and national liberation, were buried.

In front of the execution gateway, the Soviet leader and persons accompanying him laid flowers.

The afternoon visit of Mr and Mrs Gorbachev to this most picturesque, and at the same time most history-loaded, part of Warsaw commenced with the Warsaw Barbican.

I hereby present you with this symbolic key to the town's gates and to our hearts, said Warsaw Mayor Jerzy Boleslawski. I am also presenting you with a document which will bear testomony to this fact.

While taking the guests on a tour of the old town, the mayor emphasized that numerous sites there reminded of memorable events of Warsaw's history: defence against Swedish invasion, 1788-1792 Grand Sejm, Kosciuszko insurgency, November 1830 Uprising as well as September 1939 and the days of occupation.

In the main market square, the visitors were welcomed by the Chmielna Street band playing Polish version of 'Happy Birthday' tune as well as the genuine hit song of the present visit "Mikhail, Mikhail..."

There was a dramatic act of determination as well as a tragedy of Warsaw population in the modern history of Poland's capital: the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

Raisa and Mikhail Gorbachev made their way to the monument of the young insurgent, which presents an image of a boy under ten, with a large German helmet girded with an insurgent band, with a machine pistol and out-sized boots. The monument was erected five years ago.

In deep concentration Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa laid a bunch of red flowers at the feet of the monument.

Raisa and Mikhail Gorbachev walked along fortified walls of the old town. Under the column to King Sigismund 3rd they were cheered by crowds of Warsaw residents.

Replying to spontaneous greetings, Mikhail Gorbachev said: We are happy to feel your cordiality and kindness. When discussing economy, politics and disarmament with Wojciech Jaruzelski, we spent much time talking about issues of our peoples.

Media, Official Commentary on Gorbachev Visit

Bilateral Peace Initiatives Cited

AU1407155788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 88 p 5

[Wlodzimierz Lozinski commentary: "In a Humanitarian European Dimension"]

[Text] There is a similarity between Polish and Soviet thought and action on various bilateral and multilateral planes. During last Monday's ceremonious Sejm session, both leaders presented convergent views about history and the sociopolitical and economic reforms. However, I think the world, and Europe in particular, will draw attention to what Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski said when they spoke about a peaceful future for our continent, free of the development of armaments, confrontation, and military threats. For these were words which underlined Europe's humanitarian values, its civilization, and its ideals which transcend any existing borders. They were words which recognized the increasing interdependence caused by social development.

Mikhail Gorbachev expounded on the program for a safe Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, recalling the three-stage plan to eliminate the present arms imbalance by reducing the existing potentials of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and then reducing the quantities of armaments to a level which makes a surprise attack impossible and at the same time guarantees adequate security for each state.

The Wojciech Jaruzelski Plan, known to us from last year, conforms to this suggestion and remains fully valid, with its emphasis on expanding confidence and security-building measures while reducing armaments in the most sensitive part of Europe. During the recent UN disarmament session, Poland added to this plan new features which spread these measures to the whole of Europe and permit the disarmament process to become institutionalized.

In Warsaw, the Soviet leader followed in the wake of this idea by stressing the historic services rendered by Poland by means of its initiatives concerning the denuclearization of Europe and a nuclear weapons freeze in central Europe. Gorbachev followed in these footsteps by presenting new, concrete proposals meant to turn Europe into a secure common home, wide open to broad cooperation and thought exchange. Three important proposals were put forth in this regard.

The first proposal addressed the possibility of withdrawing a suitable number of Soviet combat aircraft from Eastern Europe if the United States does not move its air squadrons from Spain to Italy. This is a concrete offer contained within a broader concept of removing so-called disproportions by reducing armaments.

The second proposal has a political nature. It forestalls future European disarmament talks and deals with the confidence-building and security measures. Mikhail Gorbachev said that concerning thoughts on Europe's future, the same kind of breakthrough is needed as the one that occurred in Soviet-American relations after the Reykjavik summit. He said we should stop counting all the imbalances, asymetries, and various kinds of dangers that exist here and there. Thoughts on Europe's future require a broader vision of pan-European relations. Therefore, what Europe needs is a breakthrough in thinking. According to Gorbachev, an all-European summit attended by every CSCE signatory in Europe, plus the United States and Canada, could represent such a breakthrough.

The third proposal, the consequence of the above breakthrough, as it were, consists of Warsaw's plan to create a center for reducing the danger of war and preventing surprise attacks in Europe. The idea to set up such a center is a continuation of the idea to institutionalize the disarmament process and the accompanying process of perfecting confidence-building, security, and control measures.

In line with earlier Polish-Soviet consultations, that center should serve all European states between the Atlantic and the Urals as well as the United States and Canada because of NATO. Those consultations and Gorbachev's speech show that that center would operate in all fields leading to demilitarization of international relations. It would operate in the political field to promote economic cooperation, in the military field to create conditions for successive reductions in armaments, and in the study-and-analysis field to check on the implementation of all decisions throughout Europe.

No one can be indifferent to the fact that the Soviet leader made such important proposals precisely in Warsaw. This is proof of the appreciation for our efforts to improve European relations and of the conviction that, situated in the heart of Europe, Poland can play a great role in breaking down the barriers between East and West. That is why in his Sejm speech W. Jaruzelski fully backed the Soviet initiative and offered to host the European center in question in Warsaw. Poland's historical experience, geopolitical situation, and political militancy in breaking down barriers and in promoting East-West dialogue are justification for this offer.

It is necessary to recall that the Jaruzelski Plan, which was presented to the third UN session on disarmament, proposed that a center for consultations, liaison, and control be set up and that it even include hot lines linking European leaders. The present plan for the center providing for a breakthrough under the impact of a possible summit meeting of European leaders develops that proposal as a vision of demilitarized Europe's beginning to demonstrate its humanitarian and other unpolitical values.

Gorbachev's thinking about Europe's future as demonstrated in Warsaw reaches out beyond the period of reductions in armaments and threats and of switching from confrontation to peaceful coexistence. This thinking reaches out to the common European home, which benefits by increasingly profound and numerous achievements of civilization, to the Europe that jointly resolves is own ecological, economic, political, and humanitarian problems, and to the Europe in which the scope for exchanges of human ideas and achievements are unlimited.

This vision is at one with our thinking, enjoys our complete support, and enlists our resolve to act in common with the USSR.

Called 'Resounding Success'

LD1507094788 Warsaw PAP in English 0845 GMT 15 Jul 88

["New Chapter (by Tadeusz Jacewicz)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 15: Gorbachev's visit to Poland surpassed expectations and has been resounding success all around. Both sides said so and the public opinion tends to comply with that view.

The visit put the relations between the two parties, states and nations on a new, firm and promising footing. Polish and Soviet spokesmen emphasized the total unanimity of opinion, programmes and strategies to implement them. They also stressed the personal friendship and excellent mutual understanding of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski, which contributes immensely to the new mood of confidence and optimism of both partners.

Gorbachev's visit, formally an official party and state one, gradually transformed into the Soviet leader visiting the Polish nation. Poles responded happily to the new and highly unusual way of conducting politics displayed by Mr. Gorbachev. One of the most important ingredients of new Polish attitudes to the Soviet Union is admiration for Mr. Gorbachev. The Soviet leader presented unusual abilities to talk, to listen and make people enjoy his presnece. His repeated praise of General Jaruzelski contributed to the overall picture of highly successful, relaxed atmosphere.

The visit boosted the process of reform in Poland and the standing of the reformists. Not only did Gorbachev speak admiringly of the Polish experience and tenacity to introduce reforms, but he repeatedly stressed unavoidability of the socialist system's transforming itself to be able to meet the challenge of the future. The Soviet Union will use Polish experience and is following with interest all that is being done here.

The visit has been very important in its international dimension, too. Gorbachev's peace proposals presented in Warsaw will be difficult to ignore or dismiss without thorough examination and serious discussion. The proposal to build a new and more secure European house for all Europeans has been enthusiastically received here. Poland is going to be an active architect of the new Europe.

Walesa Comments on Visit

LD1507093388 Hamburg DPA in German
0834 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—According to Polish workers' leader Lech Walesa, the course of Soviet party head Mikhail Gorbachev's visit and his appearance in Poland is no reason for euphoria. In a telephone conversation with DPA, Walesa said that it had long been proved that "the system demanded reform and pluralism is necessary." In view of this well-known fact, one should stop talking about this topic and take practical steps to overcome this incompetent system."

One has to positively view the fact that Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader to listen to the voice of the people. "This is indeed a great matter."

Theoreticians could even get enthusiastic about it and say that he was dotting his i's and crossing his t's. "I am a practical man, however, and consider words alone to be a waste of time." If the reform intentions limit themselves to words, that was dangerous because "talk about truisms encourage only tension, displeasure, and apathy." He wished Gorbachev success and welcomed his intentions, "but that is not the discovery of Europe. It was discovered a long time ago."

Czyrek, Medvedev Assess Visit

LD1407222088 Warsaw PAP in English
1807 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek and CPSU CC Secretary Vadim Medvedev very highly assessed Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland, while speaking in the Press Centre today.

They assessed the visit as a historic event in relations between both parties, governments and nations. It opens a new era of close, fraternal cooperation based on unity of views of the two countries' political leaderships, the concordance of party lines, and the identity of the interests of perestroyka and the socialist renewal, and supported by growing contacts between Polish and Soviet citizens.

The visit was also very highly evaluated in international terms—noted was the massive world reaction to it and interest in Soviet disarmament proposals presented here.

Further Medvedev Comments

LD1407222588 Warsaw PAP in English
1848 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—CPSU CC Secretary Vadim Medvedev evaluated Mikhail Gorbachev's present Polish visit as significant days filled with important talks with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and other Polish leaders and full of cordial meetings with Polish society.

The sides discussed the entire scope of Polish-Soviet relations, Medvedev observed. In Mikhail Gorbachev's assessment, which was shared by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the visit was an important event in the history of Polish-Soviet relations.

The visit emphasized the closeness between the parties, societies and states, Medvedev said. Never before has the history of Polish-Soviet relations seen such full understanding between the two sides.

Further Czyrek Comments

LD1407223188 Warsaw PAP in English
1836 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek fully shared the high appraisal of Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit presented by the Soviet side.

At the Press Centre for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit here, Czyrek stressed the fundamental importance of unity and uniformity of objectives of both the parties and states as well as of common means to pursue these objectives.

A specific characteristics of this party visit was its social, national nature. Mikhail Gorbachev was hosted by Polish society, Czyrek said.

Despite its official nature, the visit was also of a working character and was very busy. It will provide strong impulses for development of Polish-Soviet cooperation and friendship.

Of vast significance is the USSR's support for Polish reforms and policy of national agreement, said Jozef Czyrek.

Medvedev, Czyrek Meet Press

LD1507020388 Warsaw PAP in English
0059 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—CC Secretary Vadim Medvedev, PUWP CC Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek, as well as spokesmen for both the delegations Gennadiy Gerasimov and Jerzy Urban met with newsmen today afternoon at the Interpress Press Centre here.

Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit, said Vadim Medvedev, is being concluded in the same air it started and proceeded for four consecutive days. The visit was filled with substantive talks with Polish leaders and with numerous cordial, sincere and direct conversations with the population and representatives of intelligentsia.

A broad review of Polish-Soviet relations was made. Information was extensively exchanged on problems of our countries and of contemporary international politics.

Vadim Medvedev quoted Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion that the visit had been a great event in the history of Polish-Soviet relations. Quite probably, no other to-date bilateral meeting was marked with such great commitment and with friendly understanding in all domains, both with regard to economic cooperation, collaboration in the field of superstructure, and with regard to settling difficult contemporary problems and exposing frequently dramatic periods in common history.

The reason for such a course and climate of the visit is present in the fact that a new style of relations between socialist countries as a whole has been recently formulated. Most prominent manifestation of this is evident in Polish-Soviet relations, said the CPSU secretary.

Poland's recent history was complex, but the Soviet Union tried to assist Poland not only in respect of economy, but also on the international arena and in other areas, with full understanding for the programme of socialist renewal and Poland's national rebirth. This policy is consistently and tactfully pursued by the country's leadership.

Another source of rapprochement in our relations are also the transformations in the Soviet Union. In both countries identical processes are taking place. The deeper they are, the more manifest is the community of not only objectives, but also of methods employed in problem solving, said Medvedev.

Close, friendly relations have also been established between the leaders of our two countries, the CPSU CC secretary remarked. Constructive rapprochement is also occurring between the Central Committees of our parties and between our governments. It can only please us that this closeness is being spread over our societies.

Both our countries must solve very complex economic problems. Serious dialogue is indispensable to this effect and close economic, scientific and technological ties are needed, which, naturally does not mean that we should counter-poise our mutual relations with contacts with other countries, including Western ones.

Vadim Medvedev also emphasized that Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit had caused broad reverbations in the world. It is understandable, he went on, since the point in question are relations between two great European states which play a significant part on the continent.

Construction of a common European home was reflected in both the talks that the delegations held and in the meetings the two leaders had with Polish society. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals aired at the Polish Sejm (parliament) may be of great importance to European security, observed Vadim Medvedev in conclusion.

I can fully agree with such evaluation of the visit, said PUWP CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek. Of essential importance is the closeness between, or even uniformity of, objectives of our policy of socialist renewal and Soviet perestroyka and glasnost. The visit deepened and consolidated this closeness.

The visit was held in conditions in which our good-neighbourly relations were based upon the principles discussed by Vadim Medvedev, mutual respect and kindness as well as of autonomy and responsibility for matters of typical of each party and each country.

It should be remarked here that the visit took place at a time important to Europe and entire world, during the process of solving paramount problems of cooperation in conditions of peace and international security.

A special characteristic feature of the present visit, Jozef Czyrek went on, was its social, or even national nature, irrespective of it having been called official. Mikhail Gorbachev was hosted by our society, all its basic circles

in the full meaning of the word. The visit enjoyed not only vast interest of Polish society, but also support for objectives and intentions behind it.

The great importance of the visit results also from the fact that our guest supported the policy of socialist renewal, economic reforms and national agreement.

Polish society, the PUWP CC secretary stressed, displayed enormous respect, warm fondness and support for Mikhail Gorbachev, the cause of perestroyka, for Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy, for the grand outcome of friendship and cooperation between our parties, states and peoples.

Next, the officials gathered at the Press Centre replied to questions from newsmen. Here are some of them:

Question: To what extent can Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit contribute to breaking through stereotypes and mutual prejudice between Poles and Soviet nationals. (Polish television)

Answer: Both the contents and the climate of the visit are best proof of breaking such stereotypes and prejudice, said Vadim Medvedev.

Mikhail Gorbachev's flower-laying at the site where Tadeusz Kosciuszko took the oath in Krakow's Market Square is significant here. Mikhail Gorbachev highly values contribution made by Poles to defeating the Nazis not only on the eastern front, but also on the western one where they paid a sacrifice of blood.

Essential was, Vadim Medvedev added, CPSU CC general secretary's Szczecin address in which he underscored inviolability of borders in Europe. Overcoming stereotypes and prejudice was encouraged by direct, sincere meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Poles, including representatives of Polish culture and science.

Question: Can one hope that direct cooperation between Polish and Soviet enterprises and establishment of joint ventures will be now more dynamic than heretofore. (Soviet television)

Answer: Progress in coproduction and establishment of joint ventures is smaller than we expected of would desire, Vadim Medvedev replied.

Acceleration of this process will be encountered by progress in reformation of economic mechanisms in both the countries as well as in perfection of trade exchange forms. Obstacles in cooperation can be lifted even now, without waiting for effects of these processes.

Steps should be taken to attain a common market between the two countries and to settle currency and financial issues. Poland and the Soviet Union are most advanced in these efforts of all other countries of the socialist community. This is the best road towards stepping up the effectiveness of our economies.

Question: Will the Soviet Union facilitate Poland's repayment of her debt. (LA STAMPA)

Answer: Currency and financial issues were raised by the Polish side and were indeed topics of talks, replied Vadim Medvedev.

The point here is both the debt resulting from trade turnover and from servicing credits in convertible currencies. Decisions to this effect have already been made earlier.

Anyway, this debt is temporary in nature as it is subject to changes due to dynamics of prices for raw material and goods engaged in mutual turnover, said Medvedev.

Question: Was the Hungarian-Romanian conflict discussed during the recent visit by Karoly Grosz. (DAGENS NYHETER)

Answer: I myself took part in those talks, replied Vadim Medvedev, but the issue was not discussed. Neither does Romania nor Hungary want other countries to interfere in their own affairs.

We are of the same opinion. Disputable problems between socialist countries should be settled in bilateral relations, he said.

Council of State Meets 14 July

LD1407205488 Warsaw PAP in English
1723 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 14—The Council of State today acquainted itself with issues associated with the new people's councils, personnel policy pursued by institutions of higher learning as well as proposals of cooperation with Polish communities abroad, and appointed new ambassadors.

Additional Elections to People's Councils [subhead]

The Council of State accepted the information of the State Electoral Commission on the overall results of additional elections, held in one constituency to a voivodship people's council, and, in 11 constituencies to people's councils of basic level. The elections were held in connection with the inconclusive result of the first ballot.

The Council of State accepted the information on the course and results of the first session of voivodship people's councils.

Attention was called to the fact that a majority of councillors elected to voivodship councils (61.1 per cent) hold their seats for the first time. (67.2 per cent of such councillros in basic-level councils.)

Scientific Piromotion of Youth [subhead]

The Council of State accepted information on the directions of personnel policy in institutions of higher learning, focusing on the improvement of the process of educating scientific cadres with a view to speeding up scientific promotion of young research workers who have outstanding achievements in their work.

Poles' Homecomings [subhead]

A report was examined on the return back home of people with Polish citizenship. The Council of State's assessment was that the recent liberalization of passport regulations, taking into account the suggestions forwarded at a meeting of the Consultative Council at the president of the Council of State, will help more Polish citizens staying abroad decide to come back to Poland.

The Council of State examined information on proposals to create conditions for the further tightening of ties with Polish communities abroad in all areas: economic, social and cultural.

Appointments of Ambassadors [subhead]

The Council of State appointed Dionizy Belinski Polish ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Stefan Szymczykiewicz Polish ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Ceausescu, Officials Leave for Warsaw Meeting

AU1407150988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1448 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/07/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left on July 14 for Warsaw to participate in the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty participant states.

President Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs.

On departure at the Otopeni Airport, the Romanian party and state leader was seen off by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, by members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, by representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

Dobrescu-Led TU Delegation Visits Bulgaria

AU0707110988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1026 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 7/7/1988—Upon the invitation of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, a delegation of Romanian trade unions, headed by Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Romanian Communist Party's CC, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, paid a swap-of-experience visit to Bulgaria between 27 June and 1 July, 1988.

The Romanian trade union delegation had talks with a Bulgarian trade union delegation, headed by Petur Dyulgerov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, met with trade union activists and other responsible factors and visited economic units and sociocultural establishments in Sofia and Plovdiv.

During the talks, held in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the two delegations made a broad and useful exchange of experience and information in connection with the successes scored by the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples in the building of the new social system, the trade union activity for the implementation of the resolutions of the 13th RCP Congress and of 13th BCP Congress, respectively, and on the place and role of trade unions in the socialist construction currently.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the growing course of the fine friendly and cooperative links between the trade union organs and organizations of Romania and Bulgaria, the resolve to further develop and deepen them in the future at all levels, including trade union organizations in enterprises and institutions, in keeping with talks and accords between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, and Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP, president of the Council of State of Bulgaria. This meets both the interests of working people and nations in the two neighbour and friendly countries and of the cause of peace, socialism and progress worldwide. It was stressed that trade unions in Romania and Bulgaria could make a growing contribution to the expansion and deepening of the ties between the two countries and peoples in economic and social collaboration, transport and telecommunications, science and culture, environment protection, sports and tourism, the implementation of the long-term programme for the development of economic and technico-scientific collaboration among CMEA member countries, until 1990 and in some domains until 2000.

The delegations of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions stressed that international trade union movement should be strengthened to take a more active part, besides all progressive, democratic and antiwar forces, in the people's struggle worldwide for halting the dangerous arms race and the achievement of disarmament, nuclear above all, for the edification of a Europe and world of peace and collaboration, free of wars and nuclear arms. In context, emphasis was placed on the particular importance of the ratification of the treaty between the USSR and USA eliminating medium and shorter range missiles, which is a great step along the path of disarmament and consolidation of peace worldwide. In context, stress was laid on the importance of Romania's and Bulgaria's proposals to create a zone free of chemical and nuclear arms, of manifold development, of friendly and cooperative links and good neighbourliness among all countries and peoples in the Balkans, with emphasis on the importance a Balkan summit would have to this effect. It was shown that trade unions in Balkan countries can and must make a growing contribution to the attainment of these targets.

The two delegations restated the solidarity of Romanian and Bulgarian trade unions with trade unions and working people in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, for national independence and self-reliant economic and social development, for democracy and social progress.

Sharon Discusses Bilateral Trade With Romania
TA1407155688 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Industry and Trade Minister Ari'el Sharon, who is currently in Romania, asked the minister of foreign trade to take action to enable the marketing of Israeli agricultural products to Eastern Bloc countries that have no diplomatic relations with Israel.

Our correspondent Menahem Friedman reports that Minister Sharon today met several Romanian Government ministers dealing with economic affairs to discuss Israel's request to balance bilateral trade.

Foreign Minister Totu Visits Morocco

For Rabat reportage on the visit to Morocco by Foreign Minister Ioan Totu, including his audience with King Hassan II and signing of a protocol, see the Morocco section of the 13 July Near East DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

RCP's Stoian Receives Mozambican Delegation
AU0907172888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1444 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 09/07/1988—At the invitation of the CC of the RCP Romania was visited over July 4-9 by a delegation of activists of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO Party) headed by Rosalia Celestina Jose Lambela, member of the Party CC, head of the Organization Department. During their stay in Romania the delegation had talks at the CC of the RCP, at the Academy of Social and Political Studies under the CC of the RCP and at the Constanta County RCP Committee, visited economic units and places of social and cultural interest in Bucharest Municipality and Constanta County.

At the end of the visit the members of the delegation were received by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Fazekas Attends Mongolian Embassy Reception
AU1107143488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1409 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/07/1988—On the 67th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution—Mongolia's national day, its Bucharest ambassador Togoogiyn Genden gave a reception on July 11.

The guests included Ludovic Fazekas, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister of Romania, executives of ministries and central institutions, of mass and public organizations, as well as of the Romanian-Mongolian Friendship Association, party and state activists, generals and senior officers, men of culture and art.

Diplomatic heads of mission accredited to Romania were present.

Dascalescu Congratulates Mongolian Counterpart
AU1307191988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/7/1988—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu sent a congratulatory telegram to the chairman of the Council of the Mongolian People's Republic, Dumaagiyn Sodnom, on his birthday.

The conviction is expressed in the telegram that the friendly and cooperative ties between Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic will develop and diversify continuingly, in the spirit of the summit talks and understandings during the visit in Ulaanbaatar last spring, in the interests of the Romanian and Mongolian peoples, and of the cause of peace and cooperation worldwide.

Leaders' Public Appearances 19-25 Jun

AU2606144088 [Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders from 19-25 June (date and time of reports in parantheses):

On 21 June, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei; Foreign Affairs Minister Ioan Totu; and Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defense, received a delegation of students from the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (1733 GMT 21 Jun)

During the period between 20-22 June, the visiting minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, met with Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and Minister of Health Victor Ciobanu. (1521 GMT 22 Jun)

On 19 June, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. (1730 GMT 20 Jun)

On 21 June, Nicolae Ceausescu received the marshal of the Soviet Union, V.G. Kulikov, and Soviet Army General A.I. Gribov. Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defense, and Stefan Gusa, first deputy minister of national defense, also attended the meeting.

(1729 GMT 21 Jun). On the same day, Ceausescu received 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs. (1745 GMT 21 Jun)

On 23 June, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired and addressed a meeting of the party aktiv on organizational and political-ideological matters, (1743 GMT 23 Jun) and on the same day he received 'Ali Lutfi, chairman of the Advisory Council of the Arab Republic of Egypt. (1932 GMT 23 Jun)

On 24 June, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a Political Executive Committee meeting on various bills which will be submitted to the upcoming Grand National Assembly session. (1950 GMT 24 Jun) On the same day he received the departing Polish ambassador, Boguslaw Stachura (1802 GMT 24 Jun); the new Ghanaian ambassador, Christine Oduro (1805 GMT 24 Jun); and Syrian Deputy Premier Salim Yasin. (1811 GMT 24 Jun)

On 20 June, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei received Mohamed Haniffa Mohamed, minister of transportation and Muslim religious affairs of Sri Lanka. (1745 GMT 20 Jun)

On 23 June, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government received 'Ali Lutfi, chairman of the Advisory Council of Egypt. (1936 GMT 23 Jun)

On 22 June, First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea attended the 8th session of economic commission with Syria, in his capacity as chairman of the Romanian side of the commission. (1126 GMT 22 Jun). The sides met again on 24 June, when, at the end of the economic commission session, they signed the protocol of the session. (1813 GMT 24 Jun)

On 24 June, Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Pacoste and Agriculture Minister Gheorghe David met with Guinean Agriculture Minister Alhousseny Fofana. (1905 GMT 24 Jun)

Agrokomerc Workers Press Cause in Belgrade

Workers Drive to Belgrade

AU1407205588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GTM 14 Jul 88

[Text] Some 1,500 Agrokomerc workers, dissatisfied with the slowness in resolving the amassed problems of the combine, left in 23 buses from Velika Kladusa for Belgrade this evening at about 1900. They want to press in the SFRY Assembly for conditions which will ensure a normal production of all the Agrokomerc organizations that are capable of it.

The direct cause for the work stoppage today and for a protest meeting by some 5,000 workers of Agrokomerc was the insistence by the Social Accounting Service branch in Velika Kladusa that the guaranteed personal incomes to be paid to all the employed for April, May, and June should amount to 126,000 dinars instead of 176,000 dinars as expected by the workers.

Workers Arrive in Belgrade

LD1507104688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0937 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 15 (TANJUG)—About 1,500 workers of Agrokomerc, the agro-industrial complex of Velika Kladusa involved in the biggest post-war financial scandal in Yugoslavia, arrived here early this morning to express dissatisfaction to top officials with the conditions in their enterprise and their monthly pay of only 126,000 dinars (50 dollars).

About 2,500 of Agrokomerc's original staff of 13,000 left Velika Kladusa in search for jobs elsewhere after the uncovering ten months ago that the firm had issued some 900-million-dollars' worth of unbacked promissory notes.

Former Agrokomerc Director Fikret Abdic, former senior Bosnia-Hercegovina official Hakija Pozderac, brother of late Yugoslav vice-president Hamdija Pozderac, and 23 others are on trial charged with involvement in the affair.

In Belgrade, the workers will demand prompt financial rehabilitation of agrokomerc and a 50,000-dinar pay increase. Talks are in progress between Agrokomerc workers and Yugoslav Government, trade union and Bosnia-Hercegovina officials.

Hold Talks With FEC, Others

AU1507104588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] In the Trade Union Hall in Belgrade about 1,500 Agrokomerc workers have been holding talks for the past 5 hours with representatives of the FEC, the SFRY Assembly, and the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation.

The workers were addressed by Marko Ceranic, president of the Bosnian Executive Council ½ hour ago. He said that at this point no one could promise the workers that Agrokomerc's giro account would be released immediately, which was one of the workers' demands. Ceranic said that guaranteed personal incomes for June amounting to 17 million dinars would be decided upon over the next 5 days and recalled that the revival of production in some sections of Agrokomerc was being worked on.

Guaranteed Income Assured

LD1507105288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—Within 5 days Agrokomerc workers will receive a guaranteed personal income for June amounting to 176,000 dinars. The Agrokomerc workers, who arrived in Belgrade this morning, were told this by Marko Ceranic, president of the Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He also informed them that yesterday a judicial order was made to establish responsibility for halting the already initiated payment of a higher guaranteed income. So far this has amounted to 126,000 dinars.

Jansa, Zavrl, Others' Trial Set for 18 July

AU1307163788 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 11 Jul 88 p 4

[TANJUG report: "The Trial on 18 July"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 July—The trial of Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, Franc Zavrl, and Ivan Jansa, also known as Janez, will be held on 18 July before the bench of five judges of the Military Court of Ljubljana, presided over by Colonel Djuro Vlaisavljevic, president of the court.

As is said in the statement issued yesterday, the trial will begin after the indictment against Borstner, Tasic, Zavrl, and Jansa has become effective, the bench of the Military Court of Ljubljana having rejected the appeal by the accused Ivan Jansa on the basis of Section 1, Article 273 of the Criminal Procedure Act. The other accused did not lodge any appeal within the period provided for by the law.

Human Rights Committee Asks to Attend

AU1307153388 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] In its latest public release, the Human Rights Protection Committee states that it has been informed that, in accordance with the law, the accused Janez Jansa and David Tasic have applied for their closest relatives to be allowed to attend their trial. Such a request was also addressed to the Military Court in Ljubljana by some organizations. They invoke the Criminal Procedure Act provision that says that the court may allow the presence of professional and public workers, even at a secret trial. The Human Rights Protection Committee also addressed such a request to the Military Court.

Two representatives of the committee today met a working group of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation that is visiting the Republican Conference of Slovene Youth. They acquainted it with the position and the requests of the committee, and informed it in particular detail about all the (?violations) and unclear points as regards the investigations and the judicial proceedings against the accused. The meeting was suggested by the members of the working group of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation.

The committee also assessed the reports of the delegation which recently called on President Janez Stanovnik, Joze Smole, and Miran Potrc.

The committee assessed that the calls on Janez Stanovnik and Joze Smole had been successful, but it is convinced that the Slovene Assembly, in the period since it adopted its findings and positions in connection with the Borstner, Tasic, Jansa, and Zavrl case, could have done more to apply them within the current month than it intends to do according to its president, Miran Potrc.

Human Rights Committee Statement

AU1507071788 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] In its public release today, the Human Rights Protection Committee refutes the explanation by the President of the Military Court, according to which in a talk with Colonel Djuro Vlaisavljevic, president of the bench, Franci Zavrl agreed to the proposal that his trial not be postponed although he had received less than 8 days notice. The committee announces that the Military Court statement is not accurate, because Franci Zavrl told the president of the bench that while he will not demand a postponement of the trial, he will defend himself only if he is able to efficiently prepare for his defense.

Franci Zavrl is still undergoing hospital treatment. It is not known yet whether he will attend the trial when it begins next Monday before the Military Court in Ljubljana.

The Human Rights Protection Committee has also been informed that Igor Omerza, director of Mikroada, has been invited as a witness to the trial next Tuesday.

Slovene Official Receives Human Rights Delegation

AU0807200788 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, received a delegation of the Human Rights Protection Committee this morning. The delegation told him their views on the current situation in connection with the case of Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl. The committee is of the opinion that after the indictment has been filed and expanded against those detained, it is obvious that the proceedings have been conducted completely at variance with the opinions of the highest political organs and organs of authority in Slovenia. The committee also expressed surprise that the military organs use the sharpest legal means in the proceedings, and do not meet the basic requests by the committee.

Janez Stanovnik said in this connection that he was personally very concerned and that, from the point of view of human rights protection, the case should be dealt with as quickly as possible.

Janez Stanovnik said the following about the position of the Human Rights Protection Committee:

[Begin Stanovnik recording] You have [words indistinct] you have stressed yourselves that it is known that in this respect the position of both the Presidency and myself personally has been on a line that has been more or less—I would rather say more than less—identical with your views, that we stand on the position that the trial should be public, that (?sentences) are pronounced in our country in the name of the people, and therefore we believe that people also have the right to be informed, and that therefore the trials, before courts of justice or others, should be normally accessible to the people and their information.

As regards the defense, we also believe that the demand for a free choice of defense counsel is anchored in the law and the Constitution, and therefore we also stand on a free choice of counsel.

As regards release from detention pending the trial [obramba iz prostosti], we have even conveyed [?all the three] appeals of the detained citizens. Unfortunately, neither appeal was upheld by the Supreme Military Court nor was our mediation (?successful). Here I can only note that this step has not been successful so far. [end recording]

Janez Stanovnik also said that the Federal and the Republican Presidencies will discuss the matter next week.

The delegation of the Human Rights Protection Committee was received by Joze Smole, president of the SAWP Republican Conference, about an hour ago.

Membership of Human Rights Committee Exceeds 60,000
AU2906160688 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] The Human Rights Protection Committee gave a press conference in Ljubljana today. It was said that the committee has been joined by over 60,000 individuals and over 400 organizations and societies.

In addition to its present activities, the committee also spoke about possible future activities. The 1-month period of detention for Jansa and Borstner expires at the end of this week. The examining judge must then either file an indictment or order a release. However, he may also apply to the bench of the court to extend the detention. In the opinion of the committee, such an extension would demonstrate the impotence of legal social organs in solving this case.

Army Official Explains Jansa Arrest
AU0907171588 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2554 23 Jun 88

[M. Pantelic report: "Unprecedented Political Intrigue and an Attempt To Deceive the Public"]

[Text] Last year, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense successfully carried out all the tasks emerging from its lawfully affirmed field of work, in particular, in the field of the socialization of defense - protection work and of the raising of the combat readiness of the Armed Forces to a higher level.

This is, in short, the basic message of the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber National Defense Committee, which was held last week in the Assembly building in Belgrade.

Considering the exceptional importance of the subject of the meeting and the discussions about a large number of issues from the life and work of the members of the Armed Forces and especially the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] it was open, constructive, and extremely correct to a high degree.

The discussion also dealt with attacks on the system of All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection and the YPA, as well as the detention of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, and David Tasic. In his speech on these questions, Vice Admiral Stane Brovet, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense said, among other things:

"I want to take this opportunity to inform you that the attacks on the Army are not letting up, but, on the contrary, they are escalating and, with the detention of Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic they have acquired elements and a scope never before seen in our political and legal practice."

Unfounded Rumors About the Contents of a Strictly Confidential Document [subhead]

The public has already been informed that the organs of the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Ljubljana detained Janez Jansa on 31 May 1988 and in line with its official authority it filed a charge against him for the criminal act of disclosing a military secret from Article 224 of the SFRY Criminal Code. After the hearing, the named was handed over to the investigative judge of the Military Court in Ljubljana.

The same day, the security organs of the YPA detained Ensign Ivan Borstner from the Ljubljana Military District Command who was also handed over to the investigative judge of the Military Court in Ljubljana with an indictment for the same criminal offense.

A statement was also given on the widening investigation of the MLADINA Ljubljana journalist, David Tasic who was also detained for the same reason.

There is the justified doubt that Borstner enabled Tasic and Jansa to possess a military document of a strictly confidential nature which concerned the combat capability of some YPA units. The investigation which is under way, should establish how and for what reason these unauthorized people came to be in possession of this document which was found in their places of work during a public search.

As far as some demands for this document to be published are concerned, I can say that it is not possible either now or in the future, because to publish this document would be to commit the same criminal offense, considering its character and degree of confidentiality.

Later on in his speech, Admiral Brovet stressed that it was not correct that the document in question contained what the creators of the attacks on the Armed Forces and YPA had presented to the public. In connection with this he said:

"Considering that totally unfounded rumors are spreading about the contents of the document, I want to emphasize that there is nothing to be found in this document or in any other military document that could, even with evil intent, be interpreted as some kind of confirmation of the fabrication over "putschist intentions." I will draw the attention of the delegates to the

fact that the spreading these untruths about such intentions by some of the public information media represents the most severe attack so far on the YPA and even the SFRY Presidency, as its supreme command, unprecedented political intrigue, and an attempt to deceive the public."

Political Views and Beliefs Were Not the Reason for the Detention [subhead]

In connection with the reason for detaining the aforementioned three men about which untruths are also spreading in the public, Admiral Brovet was very decisive:

"I stress that Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic were not detained because of their political views and beliefs, which are well-known, but solely because of a specific unlawful act—the criminal offense of disclosing a military secret."

Military secrets are protected in all modern criminal legislation in the world. Most countries have military courts which make judgments on this criminal offense. Of those countries which do not have military courts, and there are six in Europe, some have special military-criminal laws but the majority also have special military councils attached to civil courts. The United States, Canada, India, and many other countries have military courts. Therefore, the thesis of pressure groups which have claimed during this "case" that the existence of military courts and military-criminal laws is an anachronism in a civilized state, has no basis. Except if someone brings into question both "the developmental and the civilization level" of these countries. On the contrary, the real anachronism in a civilized lawful state is the pressurizing of judicial organs.

These pressure groups behave very aggressively and are not appearing only on the territory of the SR of Slovenia, but in other communities as well, primarily in Belgrade. Individuals and some groups have also sought the support of some international organizations, which in itself suggests an attempt to internationalize the case and continue the campaign with the coordinated activity of the internal and external forces which are working to undermine the constitutional and legal order of the SFRY.

In the ambiguous appraisals of some organs in the incipient campaign, there has been greater politicization of this case and direct pressures on investigative organs and military-judicial organs, and even further afield, on members of the YPA and members of their families.

In fact, they support the thesis that merely because Jansa is a candidate for president of the Youth Federation of Slovenia, he is above the law. Doubt is being openly expressed in the validity of the measures taken so far, although even the republican secretary for internal affairs, Tomaz Ertl, whose statement is familiar to the entire Yugoslav public, categorically said that the investigative and judicial organs had acted in accordance with the law.

Other organs, and even the SFRY Presidency, are being called on in a direct way to give "explanations" for this criminal action which, among other things, ignores the fact that the judicial organs are independent and that not one other organ apart from these can make an announcement about the course and the results of the investigation. Especially as this specific case involves criminal action concerned with the disclosure of military secrets.

The Investigation Has the Wide Support of the Progressive Public [subhead]

On the other hand, the investigation against Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic has the wide support of the progressive public in the country, including Slovenia. Among other things, a specific example of this can be seen in the consistent realization of the conclusions of the 10th session of the LCY Central Committee on protection of constitutionality and legality, the stances of the LCY Conference, and the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Presidium and three assembly commissions.

Admiral Brovet then recalled once again the aim of the attacks against the YPA, saying:

"I think that it is not an exaggeration that this occasion shows that the final goal of the attacks on the YPA which also include the present campaign, is an attempt to make the Army disintegrate and be incapable of carrying out its constitutional function in the defense of our independence, territorial entirety, and the Constitutionally defined order of the SFRY. Seen in the short term, their aim is in an attempt to undermine and weaken ideopolitical unity and the combat capability of the Army; to impose unprincipled public polemics and discussions about it and about defense; to compromise the YPA and present it as a great danger for democracy, self-management, and national equality. They are also trying to move public opinion against the Army in order to separate it from the people.

This committee has already assessed that the attacks on the YPA and the concept of all people's defense (this also involves the manipulation of the public when this totally legitimate and legal action was initiated) are a constituent part of all the attacks of anti-socialist, antiself-management, and, above all, nationalist-separatist forces on the unity of Yugoslavia, socialist self-management, equality, the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, the leading ideopolitical role of the SFRY, and the independent, nonaligned international position of the SFRY. These are not only attacks on the Army but on the entire social system of the SFRY.

Decisive Social Action Is Essential [subhead]

The development of events has only confirmed this appraisal. The assessment has also been confirmed that attacks on the YPA will not let up in the future, but their further intensification can be expected if their proponents are not politically defeated and effectively destroyed through decisive social action in line with the stances of the SFRY Presidency, LCY Presidium, and the LCY Conference.

Pressures after the detention of the three men also clearly point to this. These pressures have been given a particular characteristic by the subjectivist and tendentious interpretation of the principles of constitutionality and legality with strengthened demands for the re-examination of certain constitutional provisions and the criminal legislation. The appraisals are also confirmed that the forces which present themselves as "democratic" if they are not opposed by authorized political subjects, will resort to highly undemocratic and uncivilized methods of pressure in order to suspend the legal order of the country and direct public opinion in that direction.

In the cited case, the responsible organs have acted and are acting in line with the authorized and legal imperative. They will also do this in future, regardless of the pressures and the atmosphere which is being created in the community in which they are working.

The investigative judge of the Military Court in Ljubljana has so far given three statements to the public, which is more than in the usual practice. In the interests of the investigation and also of those charged, and especially considering the nature and character of the perpetrated criminal offense, more specific details cannot be given to the public until the investigation is over.

According to the principle of the independence of the judicial organs, no other organ, not even the Youth Federation, can make an announcement concerning the criminal act under investigation.

The public has already been informed that the investigative organs are doing everything so that the action against the suspects is carried out as quickly as possible, taking into account, of course, the provisions of the law on criminal action, that is that no harm is done to the detained persons, nor to the investigation. As soon as the action is completed, the public will be informed of everything by the responsible military-judicial organs, said Vice Admiral Stane Brovet at the end of his speech.

LCY CC To Discuss Kosovo 29 July

LD1207185088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—A plenum of the LCY Central Committee, at which the participants will discuss the realization of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, will be held 29 July in Belgrade. This was decided this evening at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

Belgrade SAWP Discusses Novi Sad Protest

AU1307152488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 88 p 3

[B. Oprijan and M. Malesevic report: "The Incomprehensible Attitude of the Leadership"]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul—"We are protesting and expressing our dissatisfaction that the leadership of the Vojvodina and Novi Sad SAWP did not agree to talk to the citizens of Kosovo. We have a right to ask that the responsibility be established of those who did not agree to an equal dialogue of reasoned arguments," said Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, concluding the discussion of the latest protests by citizens in Belgrade and Novi Sad at today's session.

Members of this discussion forum stressed that Belgrade will continue to be open in all cases of justified protest and demands that the equality of citizens be ensured in all regions of the country.

"The demands of Serbs and Montenegrins have exceeded demands for a change in the present status of Serbia, so that it would be on an equal footing with the other republics in Yugoslavia," emphasized Tomic and added that this is more than the key to the daily disagreements with comrades from other parts of the republic. Even though everyone knew about the protest, part of the Vojvodina SAWP leadership announced that it would disturb the public. On the contrary, the people have shown their high level of morality and ethics, on behalf of those who should have done it for them.

Zoran Todorovic expressed concern at the attitude of a part of the Vojvodina leadership because "it looked as if they were afraid of the recognition that they also bear some of the responsibility for the lack of a solution to the counterrevolution in Kosovo. The waylaying and registering of citizens on Vojvodina's imaginary border is an unprecedented act which threatens the basic constitutional rights and freedoms of the citizens of the SFRY. The people do not legitimize the militia, but the leadership. The people could legitimize this same leadership," stressed Todorovic.

Belgrade has always welcomed Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, in line with its traditional openness. Aleksandar Bakocevic believes that such an attitude gives it the right to ask the same of others. It is therefore difficult to understand any leadership which does not want to talk to the people, because the avoidance of talks cannot be considered as an element of democratic negotiation.

In Pero Lalovic's opinion, the counterrevolution in Kosovo was obviously not sufficient warning, so we should not joke with similar stirrings which exist in other regions. "Bosko Krunic's recent speech was particularly disappointing for me, because people who are given such posts must speak differently about the unity of Yugoslavia."

"Novi Sad Television's official commentary on Slobodan Milosevic's recent speech pointed out the complete split between the republican and provincial leaderships," Djordje Bijelic believes. "This discussion forum should show its deep concern at the threat to freedom of movement and seriously call for an investigation into responsibility."

Krunic Speech on Novi Sad Deemed 'Offensive'

AU1307163988 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 88 p 7

[Vladimir Mandic: "An Offensive Declaration"]

[Text] What Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated on Sunday [10 July] in Prhovo at the expense of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo who had been in Novi Sad, goes far beyond that small number of the most extreme and insulting slogans and chants which could be heard individually and sporadically during the 4-hour dignified demonstrations through the Novi Sad streets, and at the meeting in front of the Vojvodina Assembly building.

While Mica Sparavalo, veteran of the first proletarian brigade and retired colonel in the militia knew how to separate "the sheep from the goats" saying: "Some people in the Vojvodina leadership are trying to split Serbia and the Serbian people," the man who was up until recently chief of the party considered all the 1,000 Kosovo people the same: "unreasonable and also narrowminded and nationalistically-minded." According to Krunic the members of the organizational committee of the protest meeting are "proven nationalists and military commanders" and we all know from history and the time of fratricidal war—which Krunic too often recalls—what formations the leaders with such titles had.

Reiterating the well-known political views "that the most difficult political problem in Yugoslavia today is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo," and "that the people and nationalities of Vojvodina sympathize deeply with the situation and the difficult position of the Serb and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo" and "that an even greater pooling of resources and associated labor with the Kosovo people is needed," Krunic also added his own view of the protest in Novi Sad as "the fatal ideology of chauvinist exclusiveness." He did not even remain consistent in his role of judge and Novi Sad citizen who, in contrast to his 2-3,000 fellow citizens in the town, heard only nationalist songs (it is true that a few little groups briefly tried to provoke and spoil the generally favorable impression with national songs) because he did not name those who "lead the people to Vojvodina in order to ask for Serbian support and consent."

The slogans "A united Serbia—our destiny," "Freedom, equality, constitutionality, legality, work, order, and peace for everyone," "A constitutional state for Serbia," and "We believe in the LCY" are alien to him and with them the "seed of discord is introduced in a detrimental way in a place where the healing of wounds has been going on for too long." He also spoke about attacks on Tito which were nonexistent in Novi Sad. On the other hand, he did not say a single word about the report by the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference which says that the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo disturbed the public and that not one Novi Sad citizen joined in with them.

Instead, the LCY Central Committee Presidium member assessed the citizens' demands that Serbia be united and equal to the other republics, as "the shouting of some other slogans about some other great Serbia," concluding that the province cannot be deprived of "its cultural, political, and historical achievements which are today already a civilizing factor." Calling what happened in Novi Sad on Saturday "dirty politics," words also flew out of Krunic's mouth in Prhovo about "the strange campaign against people and institutions in Vojvodina." Of course, with this, he asked himself, in the manner of a political layman, what is the point of all this and does such political pressure on the constitutional changes deserve "one-seventh or one-eighth of the unresolved questions." He overlooked in this, either intentionally or not, that there is no consensus on exactly these questions on the functioning of Serbia as a state.

Such political declarations, untrue statements, and the listing of travellers and unexpected guests on the Belgrade - Novi Sad highway who were in cars with Kosovo license plates, will not improve but only worsen the difficult situation in Kosovo and intensify the suffering of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in the southern province.

After all, since Prhovo it has become much clearer why a procession of about 2,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and the Novi Sad people who joined them stopped just outside the building where Bosko Krunic lives and why they protested and chanted.

Pristina Committee Criticizes Kosovo Presidium

LD0707111288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—At a session today the Presidium of Pristina LC Municipal Committee concluded that the political situation in the municipality is very difficult and complex and the present unity in the municipal committee could be jeopardized unless a

decisive action is launched to stop the activity by Albanian nationalists, to ensure safe existence for people, and to stop the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. A warning was voiced to the effect that the LC member can no longer waste time by describing consequences but should make efforts to remove the causes. During a very long and, at times, sharp debate the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium was criticized for its stance concerning the responsibility of some people until recently at the head of the Pristina party organization and the Kosovo Polje party organization's demand for a number of Kosovo leaders to be called to account.

The Presidium also dissociated itself from the unacceptable denunciations coming from Kosovo of some Yugoslav leaders and of the attitude prevailing in some circles in the country.

Kosovo Polje Assesses Novi Sad March

AU1407200488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 88 p 1

[R. B. report: "Kosovo Polje: Distance From Accusations"]

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 12 Jul—At a meeting of the SAWPY branch this evening, the Organizational Committee of the delegation of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins who were in Novi Sad on 9 July distanced itself from all, as the committee put it, unfounded accusations and insinuations that could be heard in the statements by the Vojvodina leadership and in Bosko Krunic' speech in connection with the Kosovo delegation's stay in Novi Sad.

Despite an appeal by the Organizational Committee members that as few as possible should go, 370 Serbs and Montenegrins had gone from Kosovo to Novi Sad.

On their march from the railroad station to the building of the sociopolitical organizations of Vojvodina, they were joined by about 9,000 Novi Sad, Subotica, Vrsac, and other people, so that about 12,000 people were ultimately in the column.

Kosovo Presidency Responds to Critics

LD1207202288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Presidency said today that promptness and efficiency has considerably increased in judicial and administrative offices, as well as in other offices dealing with the province's internal affairs. The Presidency noted that this is in line with conclusions of party plenums on Kosovo. At the same time, assessments of the political and security situation in Kosovo and threats to Serbs and Montenegrins are often based on phenomena more characteristic of other environments, such as fires, accidents, explosions, traffic disruptions, attacks on officials, etc.

The Presidency stressed that claims and assessments that nothing positive has been done in this province following the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee and that the situation is even more difficult and leaders in Kosovo are behaving opportunistically are untenable.

LCY Presidium Discusses Strikes, Economic Reforms

AU1407172788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 88 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Strikes Are Not Against Reforms"]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—When economic and political measures were taken, it was certain that their implementation would not be easy or painless. However, increasingly frequent work stoppages and increasingly bitter expressions of dissatisfaction and rebellion among the workers' class and even outside the factories show clearly that there are some social elements, including even organizations and LC bodies, who are not prepared for this task, and do not approach it responsibly.

Today's frank discussion at the meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium about work stoppages leads to the conclusion that the highest party bodies should have talked about this subject much earlier. There is no doubt that strikes are the number one question in Yugoslav reality, in the developmental, political, and moral sense. They bring into focus the essential question of the position of the workers' class. This is why it is understandable that the Presidium should have decided that the LCY Central Committee should deal with this problem at one of the first of its forthcoming sessions.

Political Ingredients of Discontent [subhead]

The indignation and dissatisfaction at Labin, Skopje, Maribor, Zmaj, Borovo, and many other working collectives disturb the present picture of the reasons for work stoppages. In fact, the crucial reason for abandoning the shop floor is no longer merely low personal incomes, but is total dissatisfaction with circumstances in the country. There is no doubt that the LC will require a fundamental analysis of the causes and effects of strikes, but, more than this, it is necessary at this moment to act, to maintain a greater presence among the workers, to take timely precautionary measures, and to establish responsibility.

The LC, it was said, cannot merely issue appeals and call for patience. Its task is, above all, to take preventive action, but when a strike has already occurred it is unrealistic to expect Communists to act as "scabs." They are part of the workers' class and must behave as such. Moreover, the majority of work stoppages, apart from some individual, excessive, and unacceptable incidents, represent the serious and ominous protest of workers

over distortions in society and the absence of self-management. The discontents of the workers' class are no longer exclusively social but have very evident political ingredients. Many elements of the strikes now show characteristics of class conflict.

It was said that the workers are seriously warning the leadership that they are betraying their role. They are not against the reforms, but against distortions. The LC must have a very clear ideopolitical standpoint on strikes, and must support every one that is justified.

The Presidium was unanimous in the view that the way to finding a solution does not lie in coming to Belgrade, to the SFRY Assembly. This is because, as was said, nothing can be promised that has not been earned. Many issues need to be decided locally, within working collectives, but also beyond them. The LC must work much harder to enact the congress decisions on reducing the burden on the economy. In this situation, budgets are expanding and "many of them are following their own sweet way." It would be good, it was remarked in the discussion, to adopt the political stand of reducing the number of official motor vehicles by half.

Reform Must Not Be Abandoned [subhead]

The key question at this moment is whether we will work in the old way and, out of fear of social unrest, give way to vacillation and to the institutionalization of bad management, thus abandoning the economic reforms. The Presidium is unanimous in its view that this must not be allowed, because this society has no other option. Words and declarations are, of course, not enough. The LC and all socialist forces must organize themselves well for action under present circumstances. One such step is today's agreement that members of the Presidium should go out more often to working collectives that are in business difficulties, thus entering into direct contact with the workers, for nobody can dispute that the outbreak of workers' discontent has occurred both because of inadequate information and still more because the majority of workers do not take part in real decisionmaking in their working organizations or in sociopolitical communities.

It is necessary to recognize the situation in large business concerns and to assess their capability of adjusting to economic policy. Where necessary, steps should be speedily taken to fundamentally reconstruct the production programs of these work organizations.

At the same time, the Presidium stressed the need for the faster introduction of the social policy measures that would be necessary to provide, it was said, a certain level of tolerability in the introduction of economic reforms.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium confirmed today the operational program for implementing the LCY Conference stands which were discussed at the last Central Committee plenum.

Mikulic, Republic Officials Discuss Budget

LD3006212788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0901 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jun (ATNJUG)—Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council, held a consultative meeting last night with representatives of the executive councils of the republics and provinces at which some open questions were examined in connection with the revision of the federal budget for this year. It is necessary to ensure funds so that, in keeping with the law on federal financing, regular fincing of the established needs will be possible, first and foremost for the Yugoslav People's Army, the development of the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo, as well as for some other functions of the federation.

Federal Secretariat for Information reports that views were also exchanged on completely balancing funds which are allocated at the federal level as well as on the proposed solutions for securing funds for outstanding federal debts with regard to various legal duties.

Special attention was devoted to determining the source of financing for the Bratstvo-Jedinstvo [brotherhood-unity] highway.

Socialist Alliance Discusses Market Economy

LD1407093988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—The social tension which will have to follow the introduction of a market economy in Yugoslavia must not be a reason for postponing the necessary economic reform, the leadership of Yugoslavia's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, concluded at today's session.

A slow and partial transition to a market economy could lead to deeper disruptions which would in turn have a long-term negative effect on the standard of living of many Yugoslavs. It was therefore noted that the economic reform must include social programs to alleviate this.

Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces are primarily responsible for bringing measures which will protect the standard of living, but the federation should also develop social programs and determine the sources from which they will be financed, it was set out.

It is the general opinion that the different concepts about some new measures of Yugoslavia's economic policy are one of the main obstacles to quicker changes which are necessary for Yugoslavia to overcome its economic crisis. This was also evident after today's discussion.

Yugoslav Vice Premier Milos Milosavljevic set out that the necessary scope of changes must be known, and that there must be no doubt about the point beyond which the basis of the Yugoslav socio-economic system would be violated.

The key elements which enable Yugoslavia to preserve the basis of its political and social order are social ownership and self-management, Milosavljevic set out. There are still some dilemmas in this respect, such as, in his opinion, the boundary after which capital relations take place, with all their consequences reflected on the position of the workers.

The other dilemma is the one concerning the introduction of stocks and bonds on a larger scale and the functioning of the money and capital market. The Yugoslav vice premier said that the State Commission for Economic Reform would therefore offer alternatives for public discussion instead of giving definitive solutions in all controversial cases.

Professor of Economy Ljubisav Markovic observed that a market economy and commodity production could increase social differences and inequality, to which Milosavljevic replied that inequality through a market economy was more just than inequality caused by administratively increased prices of goods and services.

Vojvodina Plenum Urges Economic, Political Reform
LD1407082888 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] A Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee plenum today endorsed an operative program for implementing the Theses of the recent LCY Conference. The program emphasizes economic and political reform of the LC. The meeting particularly stressed that joint work on the changes to the Serbian Constitution should take place in a democratic and constructive atmosphere, with respect for arguments and without unnecessary politization and pressures.

We have just recently experienced a form of such pressures in Novi Sad with the arrival and demonstrations of a group of citizens from Kosovo, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Plenum stressed today.

Serbian Presidency Stances on Economic Reforms
AU0507095388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 88 p 9

[Text of the Basic Stances of the Social Policy of the SR of Serbia Presidency's Commission for Economic Reforms]

[Text] The Commission of the SR of Serbia Presidency has prepared the basic stances for conducting an active social policy as a part of the economic reform. We are publishing the full text of this important document.

1. The main aim of the economic reform is to dynamize the development of the economy on the basis of a more efficient way of conducting business activities. The expansion of the material possibilities of the economy should create the real material basis for a real and lasting solution to social problems. But, the influence of the economic development on social relations, although decisive, cannot be left to automatism. This particularly refers to the period of crisis and major changes in the economic and social systems. In addition to the positive social effects, there will be an inevitable emergence of serious social problems which, if not dealt with in time and correctly, can compromise and block the reform. This is why it is necessary to have an active social policy as an integral part of the economic and social reform.

Reform Cannot Succumb to Temporary Increase in Unemployment [subhead]

2. Fictitious employment under the pressure of the considerably large supply of labor force, which the present economic system has not managed to resist, has placed many organizations in a difficult position: they have incurred losses, suffered decrease in accumulation, have a false employment and productivity picture, they do not reward sufficiently the most productive workers and experts, they have become less competitive and generally unstable with uncertain prospects. This is why in many organizations the reduction of the number of those employed is the main prerequisite for a more rational and flexible behavior in the development strategy and business policy. This will increase the efficiency of business activities and will facilitate the switchover to the productive and profitable market way of conducting business activities. Enlarging revenue and accumulation on this basis will create real material conditions for increasing productive employment. This is why the economic reform must not succumb to the temporary increase in unemployment despite its great social gravity, because, by doing this, great material and social advantages which reform carries within itself would be lost.

3. The social position and status of those employed in the economic sector and in social activities must be exclusively dependent on their work and the results of the work, and not on social assistance. Therefore, the social policy must not be burdened by the care for workers in employment. The material and social position of the employed will be primarily ensured by increasing productivity, which is to say by: 1) reducing production costs, 2) eliminating the surplus in the work force, 3) rewarding according to work, 4) establishing the basic personal income that would ensure the minimum existence level even for the lowest paid, etc. The implementation of the economic reform will also be reflected through improvements in various social relations within enterprises, within the economy, and social activities.

The Development of Every Useful Initiative [subhead]

4. Overcoming ideological and other prejudices about small scale production, cooperatives, and the private sector, using foreign capital and the citizens funds, removing administrative obstacles, and stimulating initiatives and creativity, will provide to individuals, groups, and work organizations new and additional chances for solving material and social problems. Society's obligation is to create all the necessary conditions for the development of every new initiative in the business sphere. All laws and regulations as well as the credit, taxation, and land policies must be urgently subordinated to this.

5. Solving the material position of the workers who, being economically and technologically redundant, lose their jobs, must be undertaken by society by creating a special fund. This does not reduce the responsibility of every individual for his own existence, nor does it exempt work organizations from the obligation to alleviate the problem of additional unemployment once they have rid themselves of less productive workers. The restructuring of the economy, including retraining, will facilitate the transformation of less productive work into more productive work, which is in everybody's interest.

The use of the fund's resources will depend on the existence and conditions of concrete programs for restructuring in order to increase economic efficiency. A temporary reduction in the number of employed will be the necessary prerequisite for this. As a rule, the use of the funds should be accompanied, and even determined by a partial involvement of work organizations in solving the social problems of the workers who, because of restructuring, could temporarily lose their jobs. The fund must ensure that the workers who have temporarily lost their jobs due to the restructuring of the economy are materially provided for. The fund will finance the necessary retraining needed for the restructuring of the economy.

The sources of money for this fund which should be established in the communes and in the Republic, and the criteria for its distribution must be carefully worked out and established before the introduction of the economic reform.

6. Social security must, as it has up to now, concentrate primarily on the socially disadvantaged people who are without a job: children, students, unemployed, pensioners, and those unable to work. For these purposes, a larger amount of money will be needed in the first stage of the economic reform.

7. In providing new funds one should consistently observe the principle according to which the economy must not be strained any further, and according to which the burden of this assistance should be spread among the population, because, in addition to a decrease in the real total consumption, there has also been an increasing and to some extent unjustified redistribution of income. For this reason it is necessary to correct the increase in social differences through the taxation policy and other methods. In order to realize the social policy it is necessary to, in addition to the existing sources of funds, introduce a series of measures that would have a real material effect such as: contribution of a day's pay for solidarity; increase in the rate of turnover tax; tax on income arising from interest rates; introduction of a tax on traveling abroad, etc.

Against Every Kind of Waste [subhead]

8. Resolving social problems should be significantly helped by a resolute struggle against all forms of waste in society. We need a radical savings program which would include among other things the following: a drastic reduction in administrative costs and unnecessary official trips; the abolition of all kinds of material privileges; a considerable reduction in the number of official cars; reduction in all kinds of membership fees; reduction in social funds for celebrations of all kinds, etc. In addition to significant material effects, this kind of attitude toward saving will create an additional moral-political support to the implementation of the reform.

9. Temporary social difficulties are a great test for the economic reform. Underestimating these difficulties and the failure to undertake in time the measures for social protection would not be permissible from the social point of view, and would have far-reaching consequences. It is necessary to distribute the weight of social difficulties in a socially more acceptable way and in this way increase the tolerance of the socially most disadvantaged. At the same time, the affirmation of the positive effects of the reform, and an active social policy must be accompanied by a necessary struggle against all manipulations with social tolerance, against the mentality of idleness, carelessness, and egalitarianism.

Slovene Official on 'Relations'

LD0407185088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Dravograd, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—The central republican celebration of War Veterans Day in Slovenia was held today in Dravograd. Miran Potrc, president of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia spoke at the meeting, which also marked the municipality's holiday. [passage omitted]

"Despite all the problems we are coming up against, the national liberation struggle provided the basis for the national liberation of the Slovenes, the basis for the fact that for the first time in history we acquired our own state and voluntarily joined together with other Yugoslav nations and nationalities," Potrc stressed. "This is why we are and must be proud of this achievement of the Slovene people. This is why we are also so sensitive about any issues that, in relations within the federation, today try to portray the role of the peoples and the

republics and provinces as the main culprit for our problems and suggest that in the future this role must be reduced, in favor of a united approach to finding solutions in Yugoslavia."

According to Potrc, we do not wish and do not want to agree to that. Nor can we agree with those who, because of these questions, have doubts about the historic interests which the Slovene nation enjoys in the self-managing and Federal Socialist Yugoslavia, who do not want to understand that when deciding deliberately and independently that we will settle some issues of the construction of socialist self-management, foreign policy, national defense, and coordination of development together with other nations and nationalities in the federation, we have done nothing to renounce our sovereignity. "We merely decided that we will not settle part of our sovereign rights on our own, but together with other republics and provinces. However, in so doing we decide on a number of most significant questions, with the result that without our agreement not one single decision can be made," Potrc stressed.

We forget that we started to assert socialist self-management as far back as 1950, and also that it was precisely the Yugoslav Communist Party which was the first party which, as its sixth congress, decided to separate the party from the state. We also forget that we did not start democratizing our society yesterday. We also forget that organized socialist forces have now formulated their program on the way out of the crisis. Today Potrc said, this is not only a program of the LC, it is a program which is fully endorsed by an overwhelming majority of our working people and citizens.

Miran Potrc also analyzed the implementation of the goals of the policy adopted after 15 May, and stressed that our consistent advocation of its implementation does not mean that this policy and its results should not also be checked at the present time, and, if necessary, added to and supplemented. "Our opposition to the convening of an extraordinary session of the Federal Chamber and the abolition of the law on personal incomes does not mean that it is not necessary to assess in this field the extent to which we have established this policy on a realistic footing, whether we have appreciated to a satisfactory degree the real limits of social endurance, and above all, the necessary motivation for better work," Potrc added. According to him, opposition to a fresh request for the resignation of the FEC does not mean that the responsibility of the FEC and all organs in the Republic is not intensified.

Miran Potrc also stressed the importance of the policy of open borders and good-neighborly cooperation in the framework of the work community at Alpe-Adria, especially with the Austrian provinces of Carinthia and Styria. Focusing in particular on the separate schools law in Austria, Potrc said that we are against any division among children who speak Slovene and German in the educational process, and that Yugoslavia resolutely supports the conviction of the Slovene national community that it has a legitimate right to assess what conditions are necessary for its survival and preservation. [passage omitted]

"It would not be a good thing to have the unnecessary confrontation on questions which represent excess phenomena to be continued, and for us to try and build polarization on them or seek differences among ourselves, whether in Slovenia or in Yugoslavia," Potrc stressed. According to him, this applies to attempts at portraying the confrontation of Slovenia with the Yugoslav People's Army, and/or [as received] the confrontation of Slovenia with Yugoslavia, or even of the political leadership of Slovenia with the political leadership of Yugoslavia." "I believe," Potrc said, "that mobilization and, if necessary, confrontation too, is important when it really is a matter of principled questions of the development of the system of socialist self-management, the regeneration of the LC, of Yugoslavia's federative system, and the role which the republics and provinces should play in their own and jointly agreed development in a federative, socialist Yugoslavia."

"However, I would not be able to accept, and I am not prepared to be involved in, a policy which intends to contruct its foundations on a policy of pressure and the resolution of problems by one-sided assessments, either in Slovenia or in Yugoslavia—a policy which would attempt to operate using undemocratic methods, in forums which are not acquainted with real circumstances, or on the street." "I am," Potrc said, "in favor of ensuring, in a democratic way, a dialogue between differing viewpoints and for the necessary synthesis, and on this basis, to search for joint social action. I am against the policy of disagreements, of exerting pressure and making demands, the a priori setting of conditions, and unpreparedness for dialogue and negotiation. I advocate a policy of seeking out the common interests and goals of all social groups and interests, in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and mobilization on these common interests", Miran Potrc said in conclusion.

Temporary Ban Imposed on KNJIZEVNE NOVINE

LD0507152688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 July (TANJUG)—The Belgrade District Public Prosecutor's office has decided to ban temporarily the distribution of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE issue No 757-758 of 1 July. The reason for the ban, the prosecutor's office stated, was the putting forward of untrue and alarming claims that could cause public concern.

It has been learned that the immediate cause for this ban is part of a text by Draoslav Mihailovic entitled "Criminals and Victims." In fact, this text is a reply to an article written by Bora Viskic which was published in the previous issue of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE.

Correction to BORBA Commentary on LCY Leadership

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "LCY Leadership Views Position, Responsibilities," published in the 14 July 1988 East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 61-62:

Paragraph ten, sentence three: ...after radical changes, omits to do what can and must.... (changing words "allows that to be done which" to "omits to do what")

Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi Pays Visit

Addresses SFRY Assembly

AU1407124688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 14 July 88

[Speech by Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi at the joint session of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 14 July—live in English with Serbo-Croatian superimposed]

[Text] Esteemed President, distinguished delegates!

I am deeply honored by this invitation to address the highest body of the state authority of the SFRY. I convey to you the greetings of the Indian Parliament, and to the friendly Yugoslav people I convey the love and good wishes of the Indian people.

A visit to Yugoslavia is a visit to the holy soil on which Josip Broz Tito and Jawaharlal Nehru and their colleagues founded the Nonaligned Movement. It was at Brioni in 1956 that Nehru, Nasir, and Tito agreed on the need to transform the joint principles and concepts of the supporters of nonaligned into a joint international action. It was here, in this building, in 1961 that the first conference organized by the leaders of our [word indistinct] was held. They noted that in addition to the fact that the consequences of war had never threatened humanity more seriously than today, humanity never had stronger powers to eliminate war as an instrument of policy in international relations.

The basic postulate of nonalignment was set at the first conference as a response to this challenge. It was the rejection of the view that the war, including the cold war, is unavoidable and the affirmation of our strong, unshakable belief that the life of the international community can be organized without resorting to the means that in fact belong to the past epoch of human history.

The quarter of a century since the beginning of our movement in Belgrade has confirmed the exceptional farsightedness of Nehru, Tito, and their colleagues. In country after country, and on continent after continent, the forces of nationalism that have emerged [words indistinct]. The will of the people and the institutions of international democracy have hindered and often changed armed interventions and interference in the internal affairs of others.

Those who continually practice hostility are learning, in an expensive way, how disastrous are the consequences of open clashes and their tireless escalation. The world is beginning to understand that the only strong basis for organizing the life of the international community is a violence-free world, a system without nuclear weapons, a world based on peaceful coexistence.

Was it coincidence that brought together exceptional people like Tito and Nehru? Or was it something deeply rooted in the ethos of our peoples that led to the founding of the Nonaligned Movement. Was this a way of life our peoples went through in their fight to establish nonalignment as a way of life among peoples.

Few countries can be compared with Yugoslavia or India in their plurality of religions, languages, cultures, and (?subcultures). Both our societies are multinational, multilingual, and multireligious. Each of us, in our own way represent some kind of a microcosmos of the world, a live example of life in its diversity and multiplicity. Over thousands of years we learned that the roots of togetherness lie in accepting diversities despite the fact that the roots of hostility lie in the denial of [word indistinct]. This denial is assuming the shape of emancipation and therefore tends toward violence. Acceptance has the form of a synthesis and therefore stimulates nonviolence.

Togetherness, truth, tolerance, and nonviolence represent the basis of nonalignment. This leads to the vision of one humanity and one world.

Drawing the lessons from their national paths Yugoslavia and India have confirmed the right, which is to say, the need of different states following different paths of development. We both believe that every country's road originates in their history, civilization, and that reflects the state of its development and is the result of the national development. We believe that every country should be free, strive for its own national fate. When we [words indistinct] rejected [words indistinct] we do not see how the world as a whole can wear the same shirt and to behave in the same way. Many [word indistinct] believe that their system is the only right system, and have tried to impose this system on others by weapons and not by examples.

In this nuclear age, the pursuit of dominance in this impudent way is the receipt for chaos. Nonalignment is the confirmation of the possibility of all the diverse systems of the world to live together in peace and harmony.

We believe that the mutual interaction of the systems promotes the evolution of society so that everyone gets out what is valuable from the other. at the bottom. The cross-fertilization of ideas and experience is an essential attribute of peaceful co-existence.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who taught us that nonviolence does not represent a flight from reality. It is the best instrument to ensure that the right means are used to achieve the right aims. Without the right means the actual ends themselves are crooked. Jawaharlal Nehru adapted the concept to international relations. The basic flaw in doctrines of deterrence is based on the right to use violence while peaceful existence rejects this and emphasizes all forms of nonviolence.

In this nuclear age survival itself depends on relegating war to an instrument of politics and throwing it into the garbage can. The obsolete practice of the past can no longer have a place in the reorganization of the world order that is necessary in order to ensure that a nonviolent world is freed of nuclear weapons. Even in rival camps and military alliances, the nonaligned world view is becoming increasingly accepted. When all the main nuclear powers announced in Geneva that a nuclear war cannot be won and that it must not be fought, they in fact in this way temporarily reflected the view of the nonaligned that we have advocated since the beginning of our movement. Through [words indistinct] in 1986, General Secretary Gorbachev joined in with the affirmation that nonviolence should be a basis for joint life.

After four decades of the deepening of the nuclear darkness, no one knows how to look at the far horizon which is in the breaking of a new dawn. The Washington summit led to the first and signed agreement which really enters the drive to reduce nuclear weapons. The Moscow summit ratified that accord and reinforced it with the promise of carrying forward the process of nuclear disarmament. The international community is now poised to make good this new beginning and to continue disarmament in the hope that this will be achieved within the framework of a program limited by time and even to go on farther toward a new world order which would be firmly rooted in non-violence and loyal to the principles of peaceful existence.

With this in view we are for the action plan which was recently concluded at a special assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament. The action plan is a concrete expression of the principles and concepts which lead the Nonaligned Movement. We have spelled out a series of integrated measures to provide us with a system of overall security for everyone.

We have set a specific date, the year 2010, by which in three phrases the plan envisages the initiation and completion of nuclear disarmament. In each of these phases, we plan specific responsibilities for the major nuclear powers, for the other nuclear powers, and for all the others who do not possess nuclear weapons, including those on the threshold of acquiring nuclear weapons. We would also like to see conventional forces reduced to the minimum allowed for defense purposes. This would be accomplished by steps to prevent the application of new technology for conventional weapons, nuclear weapons, and other weapons for mass destruction. Our plan emphasizes that disarmament is not sufficient by itself and must be strengthened by accepting obligations and specific measures to create an international atmosphere which [words indistinct] which would be open to all, and which would prevent the world from sliding back into confrontation and conflict, in war and waste.

We stressed that this process cannot successfully be ended anywhere except under the auspices of the United Nations. We hope that the new understanding between the two superpowers will continue to grow and that it will become firmer. We would like to see the military blocs reject their traditional views and to join us on the platform which we occupied alone before. The challenge facing our movement is to acknowledge current changes and everything that is happening in world politics. These changes represent confirmation of everything that we fought for through a long nuclear night.

If, faced with these changes, we become satisfied with just the repetition of past dogmas, nonalignment is taking the risk of being pushed into oblivion and even of becoming obsolete. Our main task is therefore to study and understand the implications and consequences of changes that are taking place.

We must use new opportunities and face new challenges. We must ensure that the new order is directed toward the worries, development, and the future of the vast part of the international community, the two thirds of all countries in the world that together represent the Nonaligned Movement. This is not a task that can be left to a small directing group of superpowers regardless of how strong and influential it may be. As sovereign and equal countries we all must have the right to speak and participate in the restructuring of the world order. We must have institutions for discussing and making decisions that will reflect the aspirations of the real peoples' democracy.

We must have a charter on peaceful coexistence which we all would sign, which we all would observe and respect. Nonalignment is strong as a rock and will protect us from the danger of the rivalry between foreign forces. Boldly driving forward and entering new times we must ensure that nobody and nothing deprive us of those instruments that we are using to direct our fate, and for which we fought for so long and so persistently in order to achieve them. For you and for us, the independence of the people is the basis for the development of interdependence among the people.

Yugoslavia and India are working together to persuade the international community that there is a need to establish a world economic order which would enhance development prospects by strengthening the need for stability and consolidating it and the continuous growth of the world economy as a whole.

We have argued that the growth in the developing countries can induce further progress in development. We have also argued that stagnation and regression in

developing countries jeopardize the health of the entire world economy. We must say with regret that in terms of an action [word indistinct] our arguments seem to have fallen on deaf ears. But, everything that we have demanded leaves an impression on the people who (?make decisions) in the world.

Finally, as far as development and disarmament are concerned, the world will begin to realize the things and to see them in our (?way). Meanwhile it is up to us to set an example and stimulate cooperation among developing countries.

Over the years Yugoslavia and India have shown themselves to be countries that are not afraid of innovative new initiatives. Some of these perhaps were not easy to (?adopt), but the important thing is that (?we persevered). We must be persistent. The basic missing element in South-South cooperation is insufficient information and knowledge about each other. Even between such well-established partners as our two countries, there still exists a great gap in knowledge and insufficient information about everything that is done. There is not yet an instinctive feeling of one for the others. We must see how and in which way we should ensure this. Some of the research and education institutions have begun to make a contribution in this direction. Your efforts deserve the gratitude of the entire (?developing) world.

There exist many specific areas in which Yugoslavia and India, the two developing countries, both engaged in their own visions of socialism, may gain and derive much from mutual experience. The most general and the most lasting lesson is the ability to respond concretely to new challenges, remaining faithful to the basic principles and the fundamental precepts.

The process of development is a process of change, a process of evolution, a process of advance. It is a process in which success itself will lead to new opportunities and new prospects, and occasionally to new problems. Frequently the answers of the past are no longer suitable for the issues of today.

You have embarked on innovative (?trials) and experiments in managing public enterprises, and we are doing likewise. It is important for all of us to define socialism as something that moves ahead in conquest of the commanding heights of the economy, and to see that public enterprises should become the actual champions of good management, greater efficiency, greater productivity, lower costs, and better quality.

There have been problems and setbacks along this road. You have experienced them, and so have we. In this process we both have nevertheless learned important lessons. You encouraged workers management in industry. This is a system that has attracted attention all over the world.

We in India make a contribution to the evolution of the theory and practice of development. Our green revolution has provided high technology to a backward agricultural economy, where the great majority of agricultural producers are peasants. Our programs to eliminate poverty, through the integrated development of the countryside and employment in the countryside are the most intensive and most efficient in the world. We have developed our own cadres in such a way that probably there are no more than two or three countries that possess a greater reservoir of technical and technological knowledge and skills.

In some areas, our scientists and technologists work together and they are at the leading edge (?of science). Our attempt is to achieve (?a breakthrough) in the most complex fields of human achievement and to serve the cause of the poorest, the weakest, and the humblest.

We in India place the human being at the very center of the development process. If our attempt is focused on the material indexes of development alone, we shall gain little and lose much. We must continue to move ahead in the era of an accelerated, widespread, and even development and increase in values that have inspired our civilization.

These are only some of the intangible but critical problems of development that are neglected in statistical tables and [words indistinct] graphs, (?but they) represent an important element in the exchange of experiences among countries and peoples. Our cooperation should include the development process, the flowering of human personality, along with the preservation of our ethical values and beliefs.

In our respective regions, each one of us has sincerely worked to promote understanding and cooperation. The difficulties are tremendous. Precisely for this reason, the achievements should be all the more welcomed. Through much of recorded history, your region has been a field of conflicts and clashes among the big empires [words indistinct], (?entangled) in the schemes and plans of foreign powers. The Balkans experienced much pillage, destruction, and (?defeats) in the past.

Under the heroic leadership of Marshal Tito and his partisans, Yugoslavia finally gained control over its own fate. You succeeded in keeping your own identity despite all the plans of others. You have now embarked on an expansion of an ambitious program of cooperation in your region. This is a matter of great historical importance.

And it is a fact that, a few months ago, Yugoslavia was the host of the first conference of foreign ministers from all the Balkan countries. We congratulate you on this success. We wish you well in your undertakings. Such regional cooperation is the most certain guarantee of protection from the machinations and plans of outside powers.

In South Asia we have experienced many conflicts, destruction, the tragedy of colonialism, and the agony of victory. There are many (?mutual) problems which need to be solved, many fears to be eliminated, and many dangers to be overcome. We have consistently refused to let these difficulties freeze [teskoca samrznu] and to become (?unpleasant).

[Words indistinct] in establishing a kind of association for the promotion of regional cooperation [words indistinct] which distances itself completely from (?mutual) conflicts and is concentrated on joint efforts in fields which are of mutual interest. We have encouraged cooperation in a range of activities that improve the life of our peoples. It is a unique, exciting, and promising experiment to overcome the prejudices of the past, to rise above the past, and to fly into the future.

We are the inheritors of the mantle of Nehru and Tito. We have shown the world our independence, and our firm resolution not to allow anybody to endanger this independence. We have shown the world our involvement and our reliance on our own forces, together with our devotion to the cooperation among peoples.

We are asking the world to reject nuclear arms and to turn quickly to general and complete disarmament, to reject deterrence in favor of peaceful coexistence, and to build a (?world) system based on peace and justice, on international democracy, and equitable development.

We pledge that we will continue this noble work, which our fathers, the founders of the Nonaligned Movement in our two countries, began. I owe great gratitude to you, Mr President, for offering me this opportunity to mention this pledge from the floor of this esteemed house.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Stresses Bilateral Cooperation

LD1407113788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1034 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and India are interested in improving economic and other forms of bilateral cooperation, and they will make further efforts to enrich it on lasting and stable basis. This is the conclusion which can be drawn after today's final talks between FEC President Branko Mikulic and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Mikulic and Gandhi spoke in favor of rejuvenating trade, stimulating joint investments, and joint participation on the third markets. The Yugoslav side expressed readiness to undertake concrete steps to increase imports from India to balance trade.

The two sides also summed up the activities which should be undertaken to strengthen economic cooperation between nonaligned and developing countries. It was decided that the foreign ministries should discuss all initiatives for dealing with debt problems, and they should propose directions for activities in the international area. It was suggested that nonaligned countries carry out an exchange of views in connection with preparations for a nonaligned ministerial meeting in Cyprus.

Both sides spoke in favor of rejuvenating the tripartite agreement between Yugoslavia, India, and Egypt. Experts from these three countries will soon hold a meeting to discuss opportunities for strengthening economic and other types of cooperation between these countries.

Before the talks Branko Mikulic and Rajiv Gandhi went to the Palace of the Federation for the signing of documents on cooperation in the areas of science and technology, information, and sport. They agreed that these documents represent a significant contribution to the development of comprehensive bilateral cooperation.

Talks With Suvar

LD1407184788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 14

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who is also chairman of the ruling party, the Indian National Congress, had talks today on possibilities and ways of further promoting the already traditional cooperation between the two parties.

In a very cordial conversation both sides expressed great interest in the consolidation of this form of integration and cooperation between the two countries. Suvar and Gandhi noted that the modern world is changing rapidly, hence the need for refreshing the program and the political platforms of socialist and other progressive forces, especially with regard to questions of global character such as peace, disarmament, and development. In this light, much importance is attached to the creative exchange of views and experiences between political parties and their joint efforts for the reaffirmation of those values expounded by the Nonaligned Movement.

Suvar and Gandhi agreed that the LCY and the Indian National Congress should consolidate their cooperation in this direction, organize bilateral meetings, and develop other ways of exchanging views and experiences.

They reaffirmed the traditional closeness of the two parties and stressed that they have much in common from the point of view of programs, with understandable differences.

The talks were attended by: Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and on the Indian side by H.K.L. Bhagat, minister of parliamentary affairs, information,

and broadcasting, Natwar Singh, minister of state for external affairs, as well as ambassadors Zivojin Lazic and L.L. Mehotra. The president of the Presidium gave luncheon in honor of Rajiv Gandhi.

Received by Dizdarevic

LD1407224488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Brioni, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Relations between Yugoslavia and India are exceptionally good and the two countries express readiness to make fresh efforts to enrich their comprehensive cooperation in volume and content, especially on the economic level.

This was said by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in their talks in Brioni this evening. The meeting was held at the White Villa, a historic place where, 32 years ago, the policy of nonalignment was founded by Tito, Nehru, and Nasir. This in itself is sufficient reason for Dizdarevic and Gandhi to draw attention to the closeness between the SFRY and India and the common goals toward which they are striving as active members of the movement.

The Yugoslav-Indian dialogue at the highest level reaffirmed the firm orientation of both sides toward seeking ways for even closer cooperation in all spheres of mutual relations. This was primarily refering to economic cooperation which lags behind the exceptional political understanding and activities which the two countries are undertaking on the international level.

Dizdarevic and Gandhi said that the nonaligned movement should, in keeping with changes and positive developments in the world, make its activities more up-to-date and more efficient. One of the directions of these activities is to appeal for an launch initiatives for the democratization of international relations and the inclusion of all the countries in the solving of key issues of the modern world.

The SFRY and India stress that the Nonaligned Movement must be more active in seeking ways of overcoming the difficult economic situation in the world, which most seriously affects the nonaligned and other developing countries. This particularly refers to the problems of debts which are assuming serious proportions and threatening to block overall positive processes currently underway in the world.

Raif Dizdarevic and Rajiv Gandhi examined, as one of the more important items on the agenda, questions which have a direct impact on the forthcoming ministerial conference of the nonaligned in Cyprus. They said that this meeting should be crucial in the process of modernizing the methods of the movement's work.

The question of hosting the forthcoming summit meeting of the Nonaligned Movement, which should be resolved in Cyprus, is of primary importance for Yugoslavia and India. Dizdarevic and Gandhi share the opinion that consultations between the nonaligned, and within this framework, Yugoslavia and India, must be conducted continuously and in a way which would ensure a solution in the interest of all the nonaligned countries and the future of the movement.

Dizdarevic's reception for Gandhi and the talks held at the White Villa were attended by FEC President Branko Mikulic; Ivo Latin, president of the CROAT Presidency; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Radoje Kontic, member of the FEC; Zivojin Lazic, ambassador of the SFRY to India; and other officials. On the Indian side the talks were attended by H.K.L. Bhagat, minister of parliamentary affairs, information, and broadcasting; Natwar Singh, state minister for external affairs; and other officials accompanying the Indian prime minister on his visit to Yugoslavia.

Departs After Official Visit

LD1507092888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0819 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Pula, 15 Jul (TANJUG)—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi today ended a 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia and left Pula on board a special plane.

The high-ranking guest was formally seen off at Pula Airport.

The Indian prime minister was seen off by FEC President Branko Mikulic; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs Radoje Kontic, member of the FEC; Ivica Trnokop, member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Croatia; Zivojin Lazic, SFRY ambassador to India; Ivica Percan, president of the Assembly of the Municipality of Pula; and other personalities.

Radio Speculates About Greek Ship Terrorists

AU1207191488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GM 12 Jul 88

[Studio interview with Dragan Petrovic, a foreign desk editor of Radio Belgrade, who "returned from Athens recently"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Anchorman] Although it is still early, could you say something about the perpetrators of this terrorist act and their motives?

[Petrovic] You said yourself that it is rather early and that very few details are available so that one could not make any serious conclusions. According to recent experiences, the manner and the target selected for this attack, I could exclude one of the basic perpetrators of

terrorist acts in Greece, the Greek terrorist organization 17 November. This organization selects its targets in Greece very precisely and very efficiently. It hits practically without leaving any trace and disappears, doing this for more than a decade. Its motives are political. So are its selected victims, and innocent people, conditionally speaking, suffer only by accident.

According to all the reports that we have received from foreign agencies, the attack on the tourist ship, the City of Poros, as you see, lacks any of these characteristics. On the contrary, it recalls much more the Italian ship Achille Lauro hijacking in 1985, when the hijackers demanded the liberation of some 50 Palestinians from Israeli prisons, and killed one passenger during the 3-day drama of the ship.

There is another element of coincidence. The possibility that the attack on the ship is connected with the explosion of a car bomb, which occurred a few hours earlier in an Athens suburb, (?is not being) examined. It was announced that in this accidental explosion of a car that was being prepared for a terrorist action, two Lebanese died. In any case, it is still too early to draw any conclusions about the origins and the motives of this latest terrorist act in the Mediterranean.